

The Midwest Quarterly

A JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT

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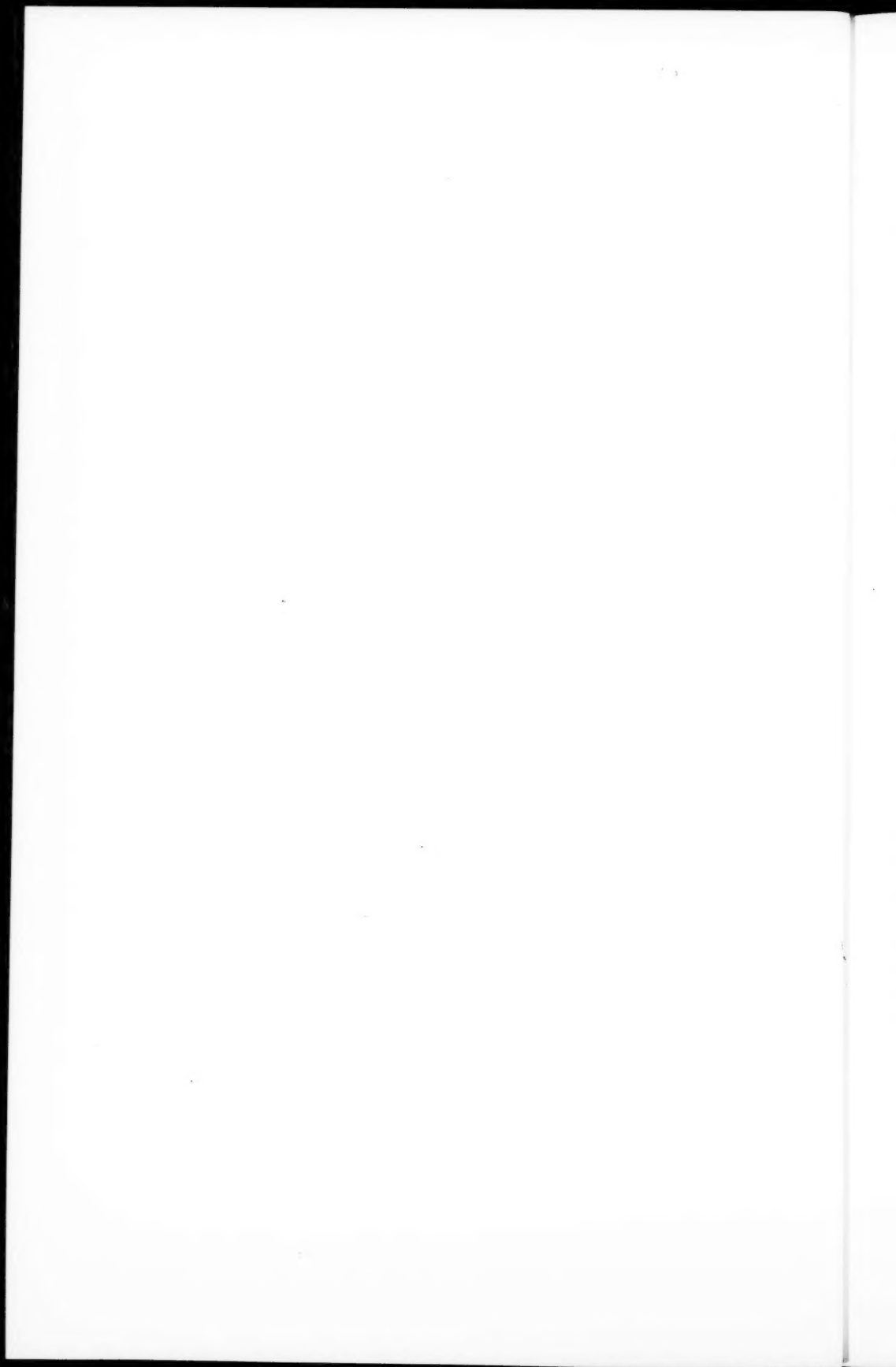
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in this issue . . .

WITH this number, *THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY* begins its second year of publication. Everything considered, the editors face the future with confidence. Subscription renewals have been coming in all summer, and, even more important, unsolicited manuscripts from all over have been arriving with increasing frequency.

This first issue of Volume II contains articles on a variety of subjects of rather strong current interest. The editors have taken into account several incontestable facts in selecting these discussions for publication. This issue appears a short month before the American presidential election. This month marks the 125th anniversary of the birth of Samuel Clemens, and appropriate ceremonies are scheduled for Hannibal, Missouri, under the sponsorship of the Central Mississippi Valley branch of the American Studies Association in which roughly one-third of the editorial board are involved. With the opening of a new academic year (it seemed fairly certain as this copy went to the printer) the technique of non-violent demonstrations against various forms of racial segregation will continue to spread in the American South. All these facts have helped the editors in their continuing function of trying to select the most appropriate available material for their readers.

DURING THE LAST six months American news media have been full of reports of spreading efforts on the part of American Negroes to combat racial segregation by the non-violent technique of "sitting-in." Fortunately, *THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY* received, early this summer, a discussion of this phenomenon by a sociologist who has had almost unparalleled opportunity to observe it at close hand. **JAMES W. VANDER ZANDEN** has lived and worked in the south, particularly in Georgia and North Carolina, for the past six years, and the lead article in this issue is the latest of his many discussions of the difficult problems composing the desegregation syndrome. Born in Green Bay, Wisconsin, thirty years ago, Professor Vander Zanden holds the bachelor and master of science degrees in sociology and anthropology from the University of Wisconsin. For two years he taught at Paine College in Augusta, Georgia, an accredited Negro institution, in order to have opportunity to study southern Negro life at first-hand. In 1958 he was awarded the doctor of philosophy degree in sociology by the University of North Carolina, after which

he was instructor in sociology for two years at Duke University. He is a prolific writer on racial problems, and a baker's dozen of his articles have appeared or will shortly be published in a variety of journals including *The American Mercury*, *Social Forces*, *The American Journal of Sociology*, *The Journal of the History of Ideas*, and *The South Atlantic Quarterly*. This fall he became assistant professor of sociology at Ohio State University. His discussion of "Sit-ins in Dixie" is valuable because of the insights it provides and the light it throws on the significance of this new development as an expression of discontent and urgency on the part of young southern Negroes.

ONCE EVERY FOUR YEARS we Americans go through the process of electing a president. These elections take on the appearance and characteristics of a mixture of old-time revival, frontier medicine show, Fourth of July celebration, and the hard sell of the Madison Avenue huckster. Beneath the more obvious froth on the surface are the political customs and institutions of this nation, partly constitutional and partly the result of solidified behavior-patterns. While everyone in the country will know by the second Wednesday in November who will be the next president of the United States, this general knowledge will not become legal fact until the members of the Electoral College meet in fifty separate groups something over a month later. To analyze this political curiosity, the editors were able to secure the services of RICHARD C. WELTY, associate professor of political science in this College. Readers of THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY will recall his discussion of the question, "Are The States Obsolete?" which appeared in our first issue last October and attracted nation-wide attention. His present article, like his first, is characterized by clear analysis and careful organization based on years of direct observation and study of American political history and practice. Professor Welty holds the bachelor of arts degree from Fort Hays Kansas State College and the master of arts and doctor of philosophy degrees in political science from the University of Colorado. He joined the faculty here in 1953 after a year at Hamline University in Minnesota.

THERE IS NO WAY like the American way when it comes to appreciating literary genius. Throughout our relatively brief literary history, we Americans have tended pretty much to ignore our own writers in favor of the lions of European letters, and it has been only

in the last quarter century that an undergraduate degree in literature would necessarily include anything by an American writer (with the possible exception of Henry James, who became a British subject during World War I). The past twenty-five or thirty years have witnessed a healthy change (not completely accepted as yet by some professors of English Literature), with the result that more and more attention has been given American authors and their work on both the undergraduate and graduate levels. One tangible result of this has been a plethora of articles, books, and academic courses analyzing the life and works of Samuel L. Clemens, better known to his fellow countrymen as Mark Twain. This year, the 125th anniversary of his birth and the fiftieth anniversary of his death, has seen rather tremendous emphasis on Mark Twain's impact on American life and letters. Readers of *THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY* will recall that our January issue contained an analysis of his apprenticeship as a West Coast journalist by our own John Q. Reed, professor of American Literature here and presently a member of our editorial board. In this issue we present an analysis of the work of the elder Mark Twain, particularly of his later satirical writings. And once more the editors are indebted to John Reed for discovering this analysis, a paper written by a graduate student enrolled in his Mark Twain seminar this summer.

The author, NITA LAING, modestly describes herself as "an ordinary middle-aged housewife with no qualifications as a literary critic whatever—unless you could count an almost pathological interest in literature." Even this interest, she confesses, she has not been able to indulge very fully, at least not for the last thirteen years, since during that time at least one of her children has been able to climb into her lap and close the book every time she sat down to read. "I have managed," she reports, "to continue reading a little, however, standing up, with the result that I now have fallen arches and a strong predilection for the short story." She grew up in Texas, leaving there at the age of eighteen to go to Washington, D. C., as a government typist. After her marriage to Millard Laing, now chairman of the Department of Music at Kansas State College of Pittsburg, she taught mathematics, science, and agriculture (!) in a Texas junior high school for two years; she finished her bachelor's degree in 1947 at East Texas State Teachers College at Commerce. After that, while her husband was doing graduate work at the University of Michigan, she again taught mathematics and science in the junior high school at Willow Run. Last summer she decided

that her children were old enough to permit her to return to college, and she has now completed about two-thirds of the work for a master's degree in English. However meager (her word) her qualifications, her article struck the editors of *THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY* as a mature and incisive discussion of Mark Twain's later work. Despite her suggestion that "the only way for you to retain the respect of your readers is to pretend that you found it in the wastebasket," we are proud to present her article on the basis of its obvious quality.

DESPITE THE FACT that observers of American life for well over one hundred years have commented on the American tendency toward associations, it has been in only the most recent times that political scientists have begun to discover that so-called "pressure groups" perform desirable, indeed invaluable, services on the American political scene. The fourth article in this issue answers the question "Are Pressure Groups Threatening American Democracy?" with a rather firm negative. LEWIS A. BAYLES, associate professor of social science, has been a member of the College faculty since 1957, teaching American Problems, political theory, and related subjects. He holds the bachelor of arts degree from the University of Kansas and a rather unusual interdepartmental doctor of philosophy degree from Ohio State. His doctoral work there was in the three related fields of educational philosophy, political science, and sociology. His dissertation explored the area of group power in democratic society, and his article here published is an outgrowth of this comprehensive study. This article is an expansion of a lecture presented last February as part of the 1959-60 series of Great Issues Lectures sponsored by the Department of Social Science.

ONE OF THE WHIPPING BOYS of American letters is the book reviewer. His material rewards are slight, usually a few dollars and/or a free copy of the book under discussion. The documentary evidence indicates that the reviewer seldom pleases anyone, and from time to time he calls down the wrath of a variety of authors and editors who seem to delight in accusing him of everything from intellectual dishonesty to accepting "payola" from the publishers.

His curiosity aroused by recurring complaints and laments about the alleged sorry state of book-reviewing in the United States, JAMES WOODRESS, chairman of the Department of English at San Fernando Valley State College in California, decided to investigate the charges for himself. The result is an interesting and surprising report. He originally read it in a somewhat abridged form before the American

Literature Group of the Modern Language Association in annual conference assembled last December. Professor Woodress is a Missourian by birth with degrees from Amherst, New York University, and Duke. His field is American Literature, and he taught in Grinnell College and Butler University before going to California. He is the author of books on such distinguished figures in American Literature as William Dean Howells, Booth Tarkington, and Joel Barlow; he has written biographies of the last two. Currently he is in charge of compiling the American section of the annual Modern Language Association bibliography. The editors of *THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY*—some of whom also write book reviews occasionally—are particularly pleased that Professor Woodress selected this publication for this excellent and timely discussion.

IT SEEMS HARDLY NECESSARY to remind our readers of what has come to be called the "population explosion" and the rather alarming problems which follow in its train. While there is no current food shortage in the American Midwest, the alarming rate of human reproduction has given rise to considerable concern over food supplies for the future. Neo-Malthusians tend to view the future with considerable trepidation, and their suggestions have included everything from kelp to plankton as basic food materials. The editorial board of *THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY* includes a man with an international reputation as an ecologist: THEODORE M. SPERRY, professor of botany and ecology. Butler University, the universities of Illinois and Wisconsin, the U. S. Forest Service, National Park Service, and Air Force have contributed to his academic and professional background. In 1951-52 Professor Sperry spent a year in the Belgian Congo as consultant for the Institut National pour L'Etude Agronomique du Congo Belge (INEAC). He is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and a member of the Ecological Society of America, the American Society of Plant Taxonomists, the National Geographic Society, the Inland Bird-banding Association, the Grassland Research Foundation (past secretary-treasurer), Nature Conservancy, the Kansas Ornithological Society (past president), Sigma Xi, and Phi Sigma. He is currently president of the Kansas Academy of Science and leading spirit in this college's faculty seminar in liberal education. His article, "Manioc, Millet, and the Millions," was originally presented as a paper at one of the spring meetings of the seminar. In it, he makes some intelligent suggestions for improved land management adjusted to the socio-economic needs of the populations involved.

Professor Sperry has had abundant practical experience in land management. From 1936 to 1941 he established a one hundred-acre prairie in the University of Wisconsin Arboretum; for the past decade he has been experimenting with a one-acre urban ecological development around his home in Pittsburg, and in 1951-52 he assisted in the mapping of about 90,000 hectares of savanna vegetation in Ituri, Belgian Congo. The record of this last experience is published in "Notice Explicative de la Carte des Sols et de la Vegetation," *Cartes des Sols et de la Vegetation du Congo Belge et Ruanda-Urundi* (Nioka, Ituri, and Bruxelles: Publications de l'INEAC, 1954).

Sit-ins in Dixie

JAMES W. VANDER ZANDEN

BEFORE this lunch-counter sit-down is resolved, somebody may have to eat crow, maybe Jim Crow." So observed a writer for the Greensboro, North Carolina, *News* in appraising the lunch counter demonstrations that have spread across Dixie. Unquestionably the movement represents something new, big, and dynamic. Before it is over Dixie will undoubtedly have eaten another chunk of Jim Crow, and at the lunch counters.

Since last February, Negro college and high school students have set the white South back on its heels. The sitdowns have been staged at chain, variety, drug, and department stores. "You sell us pencils, paper, toothpaste and clothes," the students argue, "therefore you are inconsistent not to serve us meals." The first protest was launched on the spur of the moment, a relatively inconspicuous development. On February 1, four Negro freshmen from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College entered a Greensboro variety store and bought some merchandise. About four-thirty they sat down at a lunch counter reserved for whites, but had not been served by the time the store closed an hour later. The movement did not take on a formal, organized shape until the next day, when some seventy-five A & T students "sat-in" at the same lunch counter.

The movement snowballed throughout Dixie, reaching from the Potomac to the Rio Grande and encompassing all southern states. Involved were Negro youth from at least thirty-nine colleges and white youth from at least another nine. But, as Martin Luther King, Jr., has observed, the

white leadership did not "know how to cope with it." Initially they attempted to ignore the demonstrations, hoping that in some magical manner they would quickly pass as a college fad. When they not only did not fade, but gained momentum, police began making arrests, usually on charges of trespassing and loitering. By May 1, at least 1,194 Negroes had been arrested for their part in the demonstrations. Although the penalties have not generally been unduly harsh, nevertheless a few have been stiff. Eight Philander Smith College students in Little Rock were fined \$250 each and sentenced to sixty days in jail; their case is now on appeal. Simultaneously, legislators in Virginia, Georgia, and Mississippi rushed stronger anti-trespassing measures into law.

The significance of the movement should not be underestimated. It represents the largest, most representative student grassroots' movement since the 1930's. It has spread outside Dixie, winning expressions of support from students and student groups throughout the nation. The National Student Association, an organization embracing some 1,200,000 students in 376 colleges and universities, held a special conference on the demonstrations in Washington on April 23. In attendance were some 184 delegates who endorsed "the philosophy of non-violent action and its manifestation, the sit-in movement." Likewise, the activity has gained the support of the nation's top labor leadership.

By the same token, the sit-ins represent one of the most significant, mass grassroots' movements among southern Negroes since Reconstruction. Comparable with it was the petition-filing action of Negroes during the summer and fall of 1955 in some forty-two Deep South communities where the petitioners demanded immediate school desegregation. But this effort was quickly decapitated, as Citizens Councils mushroomed throughout the Black Belt, apply-

ing stringent sanctions against the signers. The Montgomery and Tallahassee bus boycotts likewise involved mass, grassroot efforts but were limited primarily to these two communities.

The present wave of sit-ins undoubtedly reflects in part mass Negro discontent and restlessness over the slow pace of integration. School desegregation has proved to be a long, involved, cumbersome procedure in wide areas of Dixie. Segregationists have demonstrated amazing maneuverability, resourcefulness and resilience in maintaining the old system. As in Prohibition, segregation is being bootlegged. Barriers here and there are coming down, but integration at best is frequently "token." Cases may be in the courts for years, delay at times seemingly endless. Six years after the high court's school ruling, the gates preventing admission to white schools have been but slightly breached in the Mid-South, while holding fast in the Deep South. Congress passes civil rights measures protecting Negro voting rights, but to many the laws appear ineffective and inconsequential. And in the cities where the greatest stirrings are taking place, the barriers to Negro voting are usually minimal or non-existent.

The sit-ins afford an opportunity for individual participation, for direct action. One need not go through the intermediary of a team of lawyers and a court. The issue is clear-cut, not bogged down in legal jargon. The activity is spectacular, prominently focusing attention upon a felt injustice. Emotional satisfactions derive from the collective involvement. Feelings of rapport, solidarity and mutuality develop in the crowded lunch-counter atmosphere, reinforcing determination and giving a euphoric sense of strength and achievement. And the opposition is vulnerable, economically vulnerable, especially in the case of the variety stores heavily dependent upon Negro clientele. Accordingly, victory promises to be immediate.

From 1954 through 1956 the writer taught at an accredited Negro college in Georgia. Considerable apathy and indifference existed among the Negro youth on the issue of desegregation. Despite new developments on the school desegregation front, the Emmett Till slaying in Mississippi, and the Montgomery bus boycott, integration was never a "hot" issue on the campus. A number of student leaders and faculty members attempted to fuse life into the anti-Jim Crow fight, yet the campus chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People struggled along with only limited success and occasional spurts of activity. The situation was not too different in other Negro colleges in the region. Issues would arise, but activity would quickly peter out.

Yet the lack of mass, concerted anti-segregation effort on the part of these Negro youth was by no means indicative of contentment. Among them there existed a general feeling of discontent and frustration, a deep-seated bitterness and dissatisfaction. But it was characterized by its vagueness, its lack of concrete definition, and its absence of directed channelization. More frequently than not, it expressed itself in individual restlessness, tension, irritation, wish-repression, rebelliousness against authority, and a balked disposition mind-set. The sit-ins provided youth in such situations with an answer, with a clear-cut, immediate vehicle by which to express their feelings.

To a considerable degree, five and six years ago Negro students across the South were isolated—isolated from the mainstream of American life. In terms of their class and caste positions, they were decidedly disadvantaged. Knowledge of current developments in the war against Jim Crow was extremely limited. But the situation was not surprising. Severe handicaps, handicaps of a socio-economic and cultural character, the product of slavery and white supremacy, cannot be thrown off in a day.

These Negro students entered college with a reading ability, as measured by standardized tests, falling for the most part in the sixth and seventh grade range. Their disadvantaged state was further reflected in the fact that more than fifty per cent of the freshmen students in classes in world history were unable to locate the state of Georgia on a map of the United States. In many elementary and secondary schools in Georgia and neighboring South Carolina, such maps had either been unavailable or the students had not been taught their use. This was not the product of any innate Negro inferiority, but the legacy of Jim Crow. By the same token, Georgia was spending only half as much as the state of New York per year on the education of each of its children, a factor contributing to the academic retardation of both Negro and white.

Until the Supreme Court's school ruling in 1954, the "separate but equal" doctrine was still the law of the land. Behind the structure of Jim Crow at least in theory stood the tremendous resources of the entire nation. But the ruling qualitatively altered this situation, in fact reversed it. Given time, the decision was bound to stimulate indigenous efforts by southern Negroes to topple the entire Jim Crow structure. The impact of the decision has been steadily seeping into the Negro communities of the South, and unquestionably has had its initial and greatest impact among the college youth. The familiarity of the Negro youth with the segregation issue has increased, and their interest in it deepened. The current sit-ins in part reflect this development.

Confusion was likewise widespread among the Negro students. Confounded as they were on all sides, day-in and day-out, by the manifestations of white supremacy, by their own subordination and submersion within the social system, and by the seemingly overwhelming strength and resources of the whites, there was a widely prevalent

feeling among them of despair and hopelessness. The "road to a better life" appeared as an endless maze, with a mammoth white wall at every turn. The lunch-counter issue has provided Negro youth with an explicit, concrete handle whereby they can meaningfully grasp the whole. It is as if they were provided with a lever by which to topple the entire wall.

Furthermore, there existed among them widespread, wishful and "magical" thinking. Notions of something cataclysmic happening—of troops, the Supreme Court, the President—were prevalent, in a word, of outside individuals or agencies who would correct the situation for them. But the slow speed of desegregation and the relative absence of "outside" help has compelled them to rely upon their own resources. Increasingly they are coming to the realization that their destiny rests in their own hands.

The sit-in developments are taking place outside of the structure and ranks of the NAACP, the established organization championing Negro rights. The NAACP has given its support to the lunch-counter movement, but relations between the two are not entirely tranquil. Since the Montgomery bus boycott, some NAACP leaders have viewed with suspicion Martin Luther King, Jr., and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference as constituting a potential rival to Negro leadership. Similarly a number of leaders in the "non-violence" movement have expressed dissatisfaction with the NAACP. Recently Rev. J. M. Lawson, Jr., an adviser of the students' southwide coordinating committee for the sit-ins, criticized the NAACP as too conservative, while describing its magazine, *Crisis*, as "the magazine of the black bourgeoisie." Among the students there is likewise a feeling that the NAACP is moving too slowly. Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel, noted the situation in an address to the Charlotte, North Carolina, NAACP, declaring that young people are im-

patient with the slowness of court action in furthering equality. "And if you mean, are the young people impatient with me, the answer is yes," Marshall observed. Although leaders of the two forces admit "differences in emphasis," special pains are being taken to avoid warfare between them.

Two immediate problems confront the sit-in movement: first, how to keep pressure upon merchants during the summer recess; and second, how to find and cement ties with white allies. Of the problems, the second will probably prove the most difficult. On the one hand, white students have complained of the coolness, distrust and distance shown them by the Negro leadership of the movement. Such a response among the Negro youth is understandable, but nevertheless constitutes an obstacle to the broadening of the movement. On the other hand, except for divinity and graduate students, there has been a marked absence of mass support for the sit-ins from undergraduate southern white students. In fact, recent undergraduate student referenda at Wake Forest College and Duke University indicate that a majority of the students are opposed to the admission of Negroes to these institutions.

Although non-violence has been emphasized by the movement, a number of potentially explosive situations have followed in its wake. A peacefully initiated sit-in by young Negroes at a variety store lunch-counter in Chattanooga erupted in disorder, blows, brickbats and destruction when 150 white youth showed up to oust them. Outside, a milling, jeering, shoving crowd of 2,000 threatened to reach mob dimensions. Police dispersed the crowd but the next day the same thing happened. This time some 3,000 jammed the streets, both Negro and white, and a race riot appeared eminent. Police and firemen broke up two threatening groups, one white, the other Negro, with water from fire hoses.

In Montgomery, Alabama, Negro leaders called a prayer meeting for Sunday, March 6, on the capitol steps to protest the expulsion of nine students from Alabama State College for their part in lunch-counter activities. Some 750 Negroes assembled at a church a block from the capitol. A mob of 5,000 whites—some bitter, angry and vengeful, others curious—assembled nearby. When the Negroes started toward the capitol, the whites surged forward. The intervention of some 400 highway patrolmen, city police and Civil Defense Workers and nineteen mounted deputies held the two groups apart, preventing almost certain violence.

At Orangeburg, South Carolina, site of two Negro colleges and a student strike four years ago, some 1,000 students paraded through the city on March 15. Police ordered the students to disperse. When the directions went unheeded, police fired two canisters of tear gas at the demonstrators while firemen opened water hoses upon them. Some 388 students were arrested, and subsequently handed sentences of fifty dollar fines or thirty days in jail.

Most of the violence has stemmed, however, from individual whites who have assaulted counter demonstrators or pickets. The police have overlooked some of the incidents, but not infrequently have arrested the white violator. Although some of the cases are subsequently dismissed in court, nevertheless a growing number of whites have been fined or jailed for assault. Thus in Raleigh, North Carolina, a white man, William Bradley Faulk, 25, father of four children, was sentenced to sixty days in jail when found guilty of striking a picketing Negro with a dog chain. When, as is presently occurring, Negro demonstrators against Jim Crow can find police protection, certainly there is considerable reason for believing that a new day is dawning in Dixie.

Southern leaders are taking a number of alternative

courses in dealing with the sit-ins. Suppression of the activity through arrests for trespassing or loitering seems to be a practically universal tactic. In addition, in Tennessee and North Carolina negotiations between businessmen and Negroes have frequently been instituted through officially created local human relations' committees. Compromises of one sort or another have been proposed and there is good reason to believe that in some localities a program of immediate, more frequently gradual, desegregation of lunch counters will be realized. Such an approach has already been implemented among six Nashville establishments. But whatever the case, a new, major threat to Jim Crow has emerged in Dixie. Although from time to time the anti-segregation movement may subside, it is apparent that over the long run it will continue to mount. Indeed, Dixie is going to have to eat Jim Crow.

for Christmas . . .

MAY WE SUGGEST the practicality and suitability of a gift subscription to THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY as one solution to your Christmas present problem? Here is a gift that will remind its recipient of the thoughtfulness and generosity of the donor *four* times a year. The cost is ridiculously low. See page two of this issue for subscription rates.

Who *Really* Elects Our Presidents?

RICHARD C. WELTY

THIS coming December 537 men and women will meet in the fifty state capitols of the United States and cast ballots for the election of the President and Vice President of the United States. These ballots will not be counted until the new Congress convenes in January, at which time announcement of the winners will be made. Despite the importance of this announcement, it will receive only minor notice in the press of the nation, for the nation will have known the results for two months.

This rather formal, legal drama is re-enacted after each American presidential election. It has been a part of our government ever since earlier electors met in their state capitols and cast their ballots in the first election of George Washington. The system is essentially useless: the public does not understand it, and scholars and politicians have condemned it for better than a century and a half. Despite this, efforts to change to a more suitable system have met only frustration during this same century and a half.

If the issue were only one of inconvenience or, more accurately, a rather involved legal tradition, there would be little reason to labor the point further. But the issue is far more involved than this. There are real weaknesses in our method of electing the President, including some potential dangers and several very serious inequalities. With a Presidential election less than a month away, it is again time to make the case for a change in our scheme for selecting the persons to hold the two highest offices of the land.

Why is there a need for a change in the method of electing the President of the United States? Before this question can be answered, it is necessary to determine the basis upon which the present system of election was built. Certainly one of the basic ideas of the framers of the Constitution was to protect the executive from the influence of the radical elements in society, particularly those elements that usually expressed themselves through the medium of popular elections. One of the overall goals of the Constitutional Convention was to protect property from any disrupting interests. The principle of separation of powers was designed to accomplish this end. Not only were the branches of government to be separate from one another, but the various branches were to be subject to different electorates. To support such a scheme, the method of electing the President by the electoral college was chosen. The framers were hesitant to place the election of the President in the hands of the people because they felt that the people would not possess sufficient knowledge to select a proper President. Limitations on the mass communication of information and the strong state loyalties existing at that time seemed to preclude the placing of any great amount of trust in the general public.

The second basic element upon which the electoral college was built was the desire of the framers to prevent faction from playing a part in the selection of the President. By faction, the framers generally meant political parties or groups. There was a general distrust of political parties by the framers, hence the effort to remove the election of the President from party politics as much as possible. Not only were the framers afraid of political parties, but they were likewise afraid of powerful interests, or "pressure groups" as we would call them today. The electoral college, it was thought, would be immune from such influences, since the electors would be above politics. The

principle fear was that if one of these politically minded groups gained control over one of the branches of the government, action might be taken that would be contrary to property interests. The framers sincerely believed that they had established a system of electing the President that would be free of any such dangerous activity by groups or factions.

The third basic factor upon which the electoral college was built was that the President had to be independent of Congress. The adherence by the framers to the principle of separation of powers dictated that there should be no bond between the legislative and executive branches of the government. In addition, it was thought that it would be unwise to place any opportunity for control of the other branch before either Congress or the President. While it was generally agreed that the members of Congress and the President would be above plotting the overthrow of the government, there was always the possibility of lesser dishonest action that would tend to give the people a bad opinion of the new government.

A system designed to meet the needs of the United States in 1787 does not necessarily meet the needs of 1960. It is therefore necessary to examine these reasons for creating the electoral college in the light of conditions in present-day America. Today it seems that there is little need for protection from the radical masses. At least that is the basis upon which our government operates, especially since the adoption of the Seventeenth Amendment, which provides for the popular election of senators. Technical advances have made it possible for the electorate to inform itself about the various candidates and issues. Communication, transportation, mass publications, and public education have opened avenues of voter education that did not exist when the Constitution was framed. Today very few property owners hold the "radical masses"

in suspicion. The dangers to property today are generally regarded as coming from sources other than the mass of the American people.

Today the role and the value of political parties have been recognized. The framers' fear of political action by groups has largely disappeared among informed persons. Pressure groups have been recognized as a vital part of a democratic system [See Lewis A. Bayles, "Are Pressure Groups Threatening American Democracy?" Page 49. Ed.]; in fact, in contemporary America with its 180,000,000 people, political parties and pressure groups are essential to democratic government as we understand it. The very fact that the electoral college has functioned as well as it has is the result in large measure of political parties and their influence on the electorate. Without parties it is difficult to imagine how the electoral college would function in a nation as large as ours. For example, the process of nominating candidates would be almost impossible without the two major parties to coordinate and consolidate the thousands of varying interests and groups. Without party nomination it is unlikely that any person would receive a majority vote in the electoral college.

The fact that the framers wanted the President to be independent of Congress does not justify retaining the electoral college today. Any method of electing the President other than by the Congress would accomplish the same ends. Popular election, for example, would have resulted in an independent executive, but this was rejected by the framers for other reasons.

Through tradition and usage the American people have made drastic changes in the operation of the electoral college. The electors no longer exercise free and independent choices, but merely reflect the popular vote in their states. Indeed, many voters are unaware that they are really voting for Presidential Electors rather than the

President. But this change, occurring by custom and usage rather than formal amendment, still suffers from many inequalities and weaknesses because of the continued use of the formal vote of the Presidential Electors.

Many of the major criticisms of our method of electing the President of the United States stem from the use of the unit rule. Under this rule the candidate receiving a plurality of votes in a state receives its entire electoral vote. This rule has been developed through usage, since the Constitution only provides that the states shall appoint the required number of electors—it specifies neither the manner of appointment nor that all the state's electoral vote must go to one candidate. In fact, the intention of the framers of the Constitution was that each elector would act as an individual and would vote for the persons of his own choice. In practice, however, the electors are selected by the voters of the state. The extended influence of political parties has brought about the situation in which all the electors selected are almost always of the same party. In some states it is impossible for a voter to vote for electors from different parties because only the names of the Presidential candidates are listed on the ballot.

As early as 1823 the evils of the unit rule were recognized. Senator Mahlon Dickerson of New Jersey, in a speech before the United States Senate in that year, went to great lengths to prove that under the electoral system established by the Constitution it was possible for one-fourth of the people to elect a President. This would be possible if the winning candidate received a bare majority on the general ticket in one-half of the states or any states representing one-half of the electoral votes, and no votes in the remaining states.

One of the possible results of the unit rule is that the candidate receiving the most popular votes may not receive the majority of electoral votes. In 1824, Andrew Jackson

lost the Presidency when the House of Representatives decided in favor of John Quincy Adams, despite the fact that Jackson had a popular plurality over Adams of 50,000 votes. In 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes became President by a majority of one electoral vote over Samuel J. Tilden, although Tilden actually received 258,000 more popular votes than Hayes. Again in 1888, Grover Cleveland lost the Presidency to Benjamin Harrison even though the popular vote stood at 5,540,000 for Cleveland and 5,444,337 for Harrison.

A number of Presidents have been elected although they received less than half of the total popular votes cast. In most cases this can be explained by the appearance of third-party candidates. In modern political history Hayes, Garfield, Cleveland, Harrison, Wilson, and Truman have received a majority of the electoral votes without a majority of the popular votes. One of the outstanding examples of the discrepancy between the two kinds of votes was the 1912 election, when Woodrow Wilson was elected with 82 per cent of the electoral vote, but only 42 per cent of the popular vote.

When a candidate receives the entire electoral vote of a state, he is, in effect, being credited with those popular votes in that state that were cast for all other candidates. Thus, the present system of electing the President distorts the true intent of millions of voters every presidential election. For example, a study of ten presidential elections from 1908 to 1944 shows that an average of 45 per cent of the total votes cast actually were credited to the wrong candidate because of the unit rule.

Many critics argue that the present method of electing the President discriminates among the states—*i. e.*, it gives some states power out of proportion to their true position. In one election, for example, it required eleven California votes to have the same weight in electoral votes as one

vote in South Carolina. In the same election, twelve votes in Illinois, ten in Indiana, ten in Massachusetts, eleven in New York, and ten in Ohio were needed to balance the electoral strength of one South Carolina vote. There are several reasons for this situation. First, since each state receives two electoral votes in addition to those based on population, the system places the small states in an advantageous position. The two electoral votes given to the state are inherent in the federal system. The only solution would be popular election, which would eliminate the federal factors entirely from the election of the President. The second reason for the voting discrepancy among the states lies in the fact that popular votes do not count in the election of the President. A study of the comparative voting strength of the states shows that the southern states fare very well in comparison to the other states. The reason for this is obvious to even the casual observer. Because the states in question are strictly one-party states, the popular vote in the presidential election is usually very light. Where there is no contest, there is little tendency on the part of the voters to go to the polls. If the election of the President were on the basis of popular vote, the voters in these one-party states would have more reason to exercise the suffrage. Thus, while not all of the voting discrepancy between the states can be blamed on the method of electing the President, it is clear that the discrepancy would be greatly reduced by eliminating the electoral vote and placing the election on a strictly popular basis.

Another defect of the electoral college is the unsatisfactory method of handling deadlocked elections. Under the present constitutional provision, the House of Representatives, voting by states, selects the President when no candidate has received an absolute majority of the electoral votes cast. Because the House must vote by states, injustice is done to the more populous states. The

small states can muster a majority in the House without representing a majority of the people of the country. The present method, in effect, places the election of the President entirely on a federal basis when there is no decision by the electoral college. Although it has been well over a hundred years since the House elected a President, the possibility always remains. In fact, it is this possibility that is at the heart of the southern threats of "independent electors" and "Dixiecrat" parties in most of the recent elections.

Because of the electoral college, some peculiar things can be observed in American presidential elections. Louis H. Bean, prominent political analyst, has observed that when the popular vote is split evenly between the Republicans and the Democrats, the Presidency will be carried by the Republicans by about a 90 vote margin. He points out that this is the case partly because of the extremely light Republican vote in the South. On the other hand, the situation in the North and West is not so hopeless for the Democratic Party, and they traditionally make a better race in those states than the Republicans do in the South. A study of twentieth century elections shows that it requires better than 52 per cent of the total popular vote for the Democratic candidate to win.

The 1948 election illustrates this Republican gerrymander. In that election, a switch of less than 30,000 popular votes in three states would have given the election to Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican candidate, despite the fact that the total popular vote would have been 24,075,542 for Truman and 21,998,464 for Dewey. The states involved were Illinois with 28 electoral votes, Ohio with 25, and California with 25. A switch of only .3 per cent of the popular vote would have swung those states to Dewey and would have given him 267 electoral votes, one more than a majority. Had this switch occurred, Dewey could

have won the election with more than two million fewer votes than President Truman. This would certainly appear to be a Republican gerrymander.

So far we have discussed the basic reasons for the establishment of the electoral college instead of some other method of election. We have also pointed out that these basic reasons are no longer valid—that the environment has so changed that the system can no longer be justified on the original grounds. This would still not be enough to condemn the method if it were working satisfactorily in actual practice. As noted above, there are many serious defects in the workings of the scheme, and there are dangers present that could lead to difficulties. With these defects in mind, in addition to the fact that the original reasons are no longer valid, it is apparent that there is a real need for a change in the method of electing the President.

Throughout the years many methods of election have been proposed as substitutes for the present electoral method. For purposes of discussion, these proposed reforms may be divided into two groups: those that recognize the geographic or federal factors and those that do not recognize such factors.

The only really serious proposal of the latter type is the direct popular election of the President. Popular election has many advantages, among them the fact that it would be the simplest of all the proposed reforms. There would be no electoral impediments between the voters and the candidates. It is the method that would be the best understood by the voters. Also, popular election would be the most representative of the popular will, since it would represent the population directly. Under such conditions the vote of one person in New York would have the same weight in the election as the vote of one person in Nevada. This would completely eliminate the discrepancy found between the two states under our present method of election.

Any reform of the electoral college that would lead to a popular election pure and simple has certain disadvantages which may overcome the advantages indicated above. In the first place, under a popular method of election, geographic factors are not recognized. In the United States such factors are of considerable importance. Our country is probably too large and diversified for a unified form of government. Regionalism and sectionalism are still potent factors in the United States and probably will remain so for some time. Since geographic considerations are important, any plan that fails to recognize such factors is severely handicapped from the start. Not only would the popular election fail to recognize the importance of geographic influences in the United States; it would concentrate the power of election in one or possibly two sections of the country. Under a plan of direct popular election of the President, the control of the election would pass to the northeastern and Pacific coast sections of our nation. The less densely populated sections would count for little in the election. In a country that is both densely populated and sparsely populated, where the economy is dependent upon both sections, it would be very unjust to refuse to recognize a geographic or federal factor in the election.

Any scheme of popular election of the President would necessitate federal control over elections, since fairness would dictate standard age, residence, literacy, and registration requirements all over the country. Any such move would cause great resentment among the states and would surely be strongly opposed. Regardless of whether or not the position of some states on the matter of suffrage is correct, federal encroachment in this field would run directly counter to the theory and practice of government in this country as it has existed since the days of the Articles of Confederation. It is extremely doubtful if a constitutional amendment providing for popular election of the President would be passed by three-fourths of the states, the number required for the ratification of an amendment.

The other type of reform gives weight to the federal factor in the election of the President. It has several advantages not found under a system of popular election. Because indirect election recognizes the geographic importance of the states, it eliminates many of the disadvantages of popular election. The type of reform that gives importance to the states as election units has the advantages and disadvantages of maintaining the power of the states over election procedures. In addition, a reform of the federal type has the best chance of being passed by Congress and being ratified by the states. The Lodge-Gosset resolution proposed some ten years ago is an excellent example of this type of proposal. Also the Goldman-Humphrey and the Mundt-Coudert plans of more recent years are of this general type.

The chief disadvantage of the type of reform that gives importance to the states in their geographic and political capacity is that such a method of election must necessarily be indirect. Most of the plans of this type use the electoral vote in some form. In this respect, popular election is better since much confusion is eliminated.

When everything is considered, it appears that the second type of reform—that of giving weight to the states—is the better. The indirect type is to be preferred to the popular type because it recognizes the importance of geographic factors in the United States. Because of the vastness of our country and the great economic importance of the sparsely settled states, particularly in agricultural matters, some weight should be given to the states as such in the election of the President. In a large nation with an unevenly distributed population, the direct popular election would be very unjust to states large in area but small in population. For this reason, the indirect type that gives “bonus” votes to the states is to be preferred over direct popular election.

A second factor of no small significance is that a reform

of this indirect type has the best chance of acceptance. Because of the numerical superiority of the sparsely populated states, it would be almost impossible to put through an amendment providing for direct popular election of the President.

There are many possible plans that would provide for the indirect election of the President other than the one now in use. These plans may be divided into three general classifications: (1) eliminate the office of Presidential elector, (2) vote for electors by district, and (3) split the electoral vote of each state proportionally among the various candidates. The first of these plans would result in the smallest amount of change from the present system. Under its provisions the office of Presidential elector would be eliminated, but the same provisions for assessing the electoral vote would remain as they are at present. The only advantage of such a plan over our present system would be the elimination of the human elector. Critics have long pointed out that it is possible for the electors to use their power to their advantage and thwart the will of the people. While such an event is not likely, it is nevertheless possible. The elimination of the human elector would also make impossible the "independent elector" schemes sometimes used in the South to protect regional interests, especially in regard to civil rights for Negroes.

Such a plan would have several serious disadvantages. It would retain the unit rule that is in general use today in Presidential elections. This unit rule is the source of many of the criticisms of the present method of electing the President. Since the plan would be essentially the same as the present method of election, it is hard to see how the adoption of this first type of plan would be a significant improvement.

The next type of plan is often called the district plan. Under its provisions the electors would be elected by the

people voting in Congressional districts. There is little doubt that this method of election would be better than our present system. The electors would be more representative of minority groups than is the case today. While the unit rule would probably be in force in each of these districts, the smaller units would minimize the disadvantages inherent in any general ticket system of election. The election of the President would correspond to the election of the House of Representatives which would mean that in all probability the President and the members of the House would be of the same political party.

There are, however, two serious objections to the district plan. First, the apportioning of districts would be subject to gerrymandering. If such an important prize as the Presidency of the United States were at stake, the temptations to gerrymander would be almost overwhelming for the Congress and the state legislatures. If the majority party could not insure that they would elect the President, they could at least make their party the most likely to succeed in the election. While this objection might not materialize, it would seem unwise to take the chance. Second, if the electors were selected in districts, the election of the President would be subject to local pressure. This might lead to difficulty if enough districts supported local favorites. At any rate, Presidential elections would be subject to more local pressure and politics than would be the case under a proportional method.

The last and apparently best plan of election is that of splitting the electoral vote proportionally among the various candidates. Each candidate would receive that fraction of the electoral vote of each state which he received of the popular vote in the state. There are many advantages of this plan that have been suggested through the years, especially about ten years ago when the Lodge-Gosset proposal was before the Congress. The reasons

why this plan would seem to be the best can be summarized briefly. In the first place, this plan would give adequate representation to geographic areas. Second, the plan would present the closest correlation between popular will and the final electoral vote of any of the plans of this general type. Third, the plan would tend to break up one-party areas and would therefore secure more representative Presidents than is the case at present. One of the disadvantages of the district plan discussed above is that it would not break up the one-party areas. Fourth, the proportional plan would not unduly encourage splinter-parties or aid one party at the expense of the other parties. Fifth, the plan would eliminate the greatest evil of the present system—the unit rule in the selection of Presidential electors.

In summary, although the evidence supporting a change in our method of electing the President is impressive, there is little likelihood that any action will result. Public apathy, political conservatism, and reluctance to tamper with constitutional processes have frustrated reform efforts for over 150 years. The only constitutional changes in the election scheme, and they were really rather minor, were those contained in the Twelfth Amendment. This Amendment was passed only because of aroused opinion following the dead-locked election of 1800 between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Constitutional changes, however, are often possible only after a crisis resulting from some inadequate procedure. It might very well be that a major change in our method of electing the President will take place following some major crisis because of a break-down of the present system. Such a break-down is not entirely improbable if a third party, such as a states-rights party, would throw a close election into the House of Representatives. Perhaps the American people will demand a change before such a crisis occurs.

The Later Satire of Mark Twain

NITA LAING

CRITICS are agreed that Mark Twain's writing during his later years was much inferior to his great works. Even *The Mysterious Stranger*, probably the most admired of his later works, is viewed by James M. Cox as "puerile cynicism." His unpublished works, according to those who have seen them, are even worse. Kenneth Lynn in his *Twain and Southwestern Humor* says, "To go poking about amongst these papers is an appalling experience. For they record . . . the steep descent of a richly humorous imagination into black despair." Bernard DeVoto describes attempts at sequels to *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* as "wholly without structure . . . dull, humorless, and without the enchantment of the great originals." What happened to Mark Twain? Why did he fall into despair, and what effect did his despair and his struggles against it have on him as an artist? These are questions which, quite naturally, have bemused the critics.

Possibly too much emphasis has been placed on the division between Twain's early works and his later ones. In 1932 DeVoto wrote: "It is a fact that his occasional pessimistic damnation of the human race exists, rude, unformed, and impulsive, in his earliest work, and its clearer expression in his later work is a development, not a catastrophic change." And yet, ten years later DeVoto was to become the chief exponent of the theory of catastrophic change. His theory of Twain's guilt complex and the lengths to which Twain was driven in order to alleviate the pangs of his conscience go far to explain certain of

the more puzzling aspects of the philosophy which Twain developed in his later years, particularly his aversion to the moral sense, his determinism, and his desire to believe that life is unreal. Although DeVoto himself cautions that any excursion into the subconscious portions of an author's mind are, of necessity, merely speculative, much credence has been given to this theory. It is carefully, painstakingly worked out, and, as Walter Blair indicates, it is based on evidence. Small wonder that this theory has been echoed in some form by many critics.

Another stream of criticism prefers to emphasize sociological rather than psychological forces as the chief contributing factor in Twain's pessimism. Twain's disillusionment with all facets of society becomes increasingly evident in his later work, but it is his preoccupation with racial guilt that seems most important.

In a recent article entitled "*Pudd'nhead Wilson: The End of Mark Twain's American Dream*," James M. Cox calls this book the dividing point in Mark Twain's career. It is the book in which he stares most deeply into the abyss of racial prejudice. "The bleak irony with which Twain, from the vantage point of manhood, surveyed his boyhood Eden is a prevision of the corrosive disillusionment so apparent in his late work," says Cox, and adds that after *Pudd'nhead* Twain's fiction tends to divide into the bald sentimentality of *Joan of Arc* on the one side and the cynicism of *The Mysterious Stranger* on the other. Whether or not this separation really occurred and whether *Pudd'nhead Wilson* really deserves the pivotal place which Cox assigns it, there can be no doubt that racial guilt was a causative factor in Twain's pessimism.

As a sensitive youth Twain was daily in contact with slavery. By sensitive is meant both that he was more perceptive than the average person and that he reacted to his perceptions with greater emotion than is common.

Whether or not Twain saw harsh mistreatment of Negroes in his youth, he daily saw a lesser atrocity being committed by the most pious, the most righteous, and the kindest people he knew, the "lesser" atrocity being the denial of humanity to fellow human beings. The fact that it was committed by "good" people is the important thing. In later years, he extended this knowledge of our innate capacity for evil far beyond the context of its origin. He felt it to be a universal principle, applicable to the whole human race. Such a perception is sufficient in itself to explain a good deal of his pessimism.

Whatever the causes of his despair, its effect on his later work was devastating. As he became increasingly bitter, he turned more and more to satire, neglecting humor or holding it merely incidental to his satire. But at the same time his developing philosophy of determinism made satire seem futile. In his self-styled "gospel," the series of essays entitled *What Is Man?*, Twain declared that man is a mere puppet, the product of his heredity and environment, without free will and hence not responsible for his actions, good or bad. If this is true, there is no reason to commend him for his goodness, nor to charge him with his evil. Nor can the evil in man be corrected, by satire or otherwise. As a corollary to this theory, and a slight alleviation for its bleakness, Twain came to the conclusion that the only way to improve mankind is through training. If man is a product of his environment, an improvement of the environment will improve the man, at least superficially. This premise is evident in much of Twain's later work.

It is important in "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg," which we are to consider in this paper. This story and "To The Person Sitting In Darkness" are not long or important works, but they are representative of two types of Twain's satire of which there is a considerable body—

his articles and his short stories. "To The Person Sitting In Darkness" was published in *The North American Review* in February, 1901. "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" was published in 1899, so both belong to Twain's later period, the very time when he was composing *What Is Man?*, his period of despair.

Although the critics have not had much to say about "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg," they have been quite kind. Charles Neider says, simply enough, that this story is "a part of our moral heritage." E. Hudson Long says:

[The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg] represents Twain's pessimistic attitude toward the human race, an attitude which included himself, and which if the reader is honest and objective is seen to embrace him, too; for it is the corruption and the downfall of an entire town that is depicted, the yielding to temptation of once honest people who succumb through weakness to the lure of wealth. It is a bitter denunciation of self-righteousness, rationalization, and the failure of people to resist temptation when the price is high enough.

Gladys Bellamy, with her characteristic observation of Twain's fight against established custom, says:

In *Hadleyburg* Twain frowns upon the institutionalism by which young people are trained in hypocrisy and the forms of empty "honor." Indeed, he sees the village itself as an institution—the tight little institution of the mores of the folk, which dictates the condemnation of all outlanders and innovators.

In his three-volume biography, Albert Bigelow Paine devotes nearly a page to praise of this story, more than anyone else has done. Paine says that in this story "Mark Twain's pessimistic philosophy concerning the 'human animal' found a free and moral vent." Paine imagines Twain as a "gigantic Pantagrue, dangling a ridiculous manikin, throwing himself back and roaring out his great bursting guffaws at its pitiful antics." This story, according to Paine, is a colossal and sardonic joke on "human weakness and rotten moral force." And he adds that "the mechanism of the story is perfect, the drama of it com-

plete." Paine says both that it is Twain's greatest short story and that it is among the half dozen greatest short stories ever written. Unfortunately, what he calls its supreme artistic triumph, "the exposure of the nineteen citizens in the very sanctity of the church itself," is a little out of focus with the actual story. The exposure of the nineteen occurred in the town hall. This discrepancy, though it mars the critique somewhat, does not destroy its validity. "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" may well be what Paine calls it, "one of the mightiest sermons against self-righteousness ever preached."

The story is a sermon. It is an extended and elaborate exemplum. Its purpose is, in one fell swoop, to penetrate our complacency, convict us of being frail human beings vulnerable to temptation, and to teach us how best to combat this frailty—not *cure* it, of course, but to *combat* it. Twain knows better than to expect people to get over being human. Instead he suggests a sort of immunization to temptation, very similar to the technique used in desensitizing a person to allergens today. He believes young people should be given a little temptation each day in order to give them practice in resisting it. He thus anticipates not only the medical profession but the behavioristic psychologists as well. If anyone doubts the efficacy of this remedy for sin, however, let him take comfort in the thought that Twain did not seem to have much faith in it either. He just threw it in at the end to sort of round off the sermon.

Twain's real target in "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" is not sin in the guise of lying and avarice but sin in the guise of vanity, in this case pious vanity. The people of Hadleyburg are good and they know it. This makes them easy prey for the humorist, but Twain is not content in this case to be merely the humorist. He wants to teach, to show that this vanity is not merely ridiculous but sinful, contributing directly to moral downfall. This he succeeds, most admirably, in doing.

To catch the people of Hadleyburg off balance he loads the dice as much as possible, but that is the writer's privilege. The bait he offers is forty thousand dollars, large enough even today to be tempting. The theft of it seems safe, thus lulling the normal, sane cowardice of the people, and even more important, no one will be hurt by the deed. To some of the people to whom it is dangled, such as the Richardses, it would mean a new way of life. To others, richer people like Pinkerton, the banker, or Harkness, the owner of a patent medicine "mill," the money does not loom so large, but this lesser temptation is offset by their greater familiarity with polite larceny. By the time Twain gets through it is not very surprising to find that every person tempted has fallen. To drive home the lesson of human frailty, Twain takes the "best" couple among the tempted nineteen and gives them a second chance. Immediately after their terrible object lesson about the loss of public respect (not to mention self-respect), these people face another very similar temptation, and again they fall. Their punishment this time is left to Providence, but Providence wastes very little time in meting it out. This is, indeed, a mighty sermon, as Neider has called it, "part of our moral heritage."

The structure of this story, which Paine so highly praised, is not at all typical of Twain. "Narrative should flow as flows the brook down through the hills and the leafy woodlands," says Twain, "its course changed by every boulder it comes across and by every grass-clad gravelly spur that projects into its path." And he decries narrative which he says is like a canal having "no blemish except that it is all blemish." It is interesting to note that when he deserted realism in favor of contrivance—as he did in this story—his structure lost its loose and rambling flavor and became tight and conventional.

The development begins in the second paragraph and is thereafter skillfully blended with the exposition. Twain gives no more exposition than is necessary to his purpose, not even when such extraneous details possess their own gossipy attraction. Many a reader must have burned to know what sin the Reverend Burgess did not commit, but Twain is not to be tempted into telling. This is no meandering brook trip; it is a straight and narrow canal. In such a long, involved story, the problems of exposition are considerable, but Twain handles them with great craftsmanship, introducing just enough explanation to keep the reader from becoming confused. The parts are well-balanced, with the second temptation of the Richardses serving to reduce tension gradually after the boisterous climax. It is a very neatly constructed story.

The characterization, dominated by the moralizing purpose of the story, is somewhat less than adequate. There are twenty-one separately articulated characters, all but three of them named. (This does not include a long list of citizens who are merely names, nor does it include the dog or that strange entity—the crowd.) This would be a very adequate cast for a novel. For a short story it is amazing. Of course, it could be argued that having so many characters is a mistake in technique, but Twain needed these characters to accomplish his purpose, which was to picture the corruption of an entire town. Such a large cast of characters can not be fully or deeply portrayed, it is true. There is not time for that, but they are given little authentic touches, typical of Twain at his best, which make them seem alive.

He avoids confusion by dividing the characters into two groups, those who "belong," who accept with complacency the standards and conventions of the group on the one hand, and the outsiders on the other. Of the first group, the Richardses are pictured in greatest detail and with a

great deal of sympathy. They appear to be Twain's idea of the best type of people this group has to offer. There are four outsiders. One, of course, is the stranger who sets the trap. Although distinctly human, he bears some strange resemblances to that other mysterious stranger of Twain's later fiction, Satan. Jack Halliday has set himself apart by his own raucous irreverence. This character, by the way, is in no way necessary to the plot, and yet he is one of the best touches in the story. His mood neatly foreshadows that of the crowd in the climactic unmasking scene. The Reverend Burgess is an unwilling sacrifice on the altar of non-conformity. He has no desire to contend with established custom, and yet, as the result of some unjust accusation, the crowd tramples mercilessly upon him. His suffering is part of Twain's propaganda against the group. The last of the outsiders is a dead man, Barclay Goodson, the "best-hated man in Hadleyburg," and the only one capable of giving twenty dollars to a stranger. Goodson lived by his own standards. He was scornful and unafraid of the group. He seems at times to be the "standard of reasonable conduct" which the satarist holds up for his audience, but if he is intended for this purpose, his portrait is a failure. His fearlessness entitles him to such a place, but his vitriolic attitude toward humanity negates his virtue. Few would recognize him as a model for human conduct.

The question then arises, what is the model? Is it a standard supposedly existing in the mind of the reader, a person without vanity, especially without pious vanity? It may well be, but at times it seems to be something more. One sometimes suspects that in Twain's mind it may have been that impossibility, a person beyond temptation, and in any case, it should be a person who, like Goodson, follows the dictates of his own heart, not that of the crowd.

In contrast to Goodson, Richards worries for years about having done a good deed not approved by the village. "I repented of it the minute it was done," says Richards, and in a brilliant flash the author of *Huckleberry Finn* shines through. And there are flashes of the same brilliance later when Richards and his wife, discussing their thoughtlessness in not stealing the money immediately before anyone else knew about it, blame their stupidity on their "everlasting training and training and training in honesty." When Richards consoles his wife with the doctrine of predestination, telling her that everything that happens is "ordered," she breaks out petulantly: "Ordered! Oh, everything's *ordered*, when a person has to find some way out when he has been stupid. Just the same, it was *ordered* that the money should come to us in this special way, and it was you who must take it on yourself to go meddling with the designs of Providence . . ."

But the "heavenly incongruities of satire" are sadly mixed with sermonizing. Two paragraphs later she delivers a lecture on Twain's thesis in this story, the futility of trying to create artificial honesty by shielding one from temptation.

The entire third section of the story is given over to the kind of rowdy burlesque in which Twain delights. It is, as Paine indicated, a Rabelaisian spectacle. The human puppets are certainly enough to make a creature less sardonic than a Pantagruel roar with laughter. The scene begins with a fine display of vanity. The women who expect to receive the money are wearing such fine clothes that they are a bit ill at ease; the men are busy trying to remember the "moving little impromptu speeches of thankfulness" which they expect to deliver, and the whole town is wallowing in a regular Fourth-of-July orgy of self-congratulation. It is a perfect build-up for the unmasking of hypocrisy. When the revelation begins, the crowd,

foreshadowed by Jack Halliday, turns raucously scornful, crude, and rude, expressing, no doubt, Twain's attitude toward the "symbols of incorruptibility." The derisive hullabaloo is multiplied in every way possible including "dog disapproval." The strongest ironic touch, of course, is the chanting of the already ironic speech to the stranger, "You are far from being a bad man. Go, and reform—or mark my words—some day, for your sins, you will die and go to Hell or Hadleyburg." This is chanted to what Twain calls a well-known church hymn. After this, the addition of the travesty on the tune from *The Mikado*, which was already ironic in its original context, seems superfluous but it does add to the scene of chaos.

There is at this point a disturbing difficulty in characterization. The plot demands that the Reverend Burgess be two types of man, meek, patient, long-suffering under persecution throughout most of the story, but adroit and vindictive in the climax, after which he appears to return to his old role of scapegoat. This requires considerable inconsistency in his character, but he manages to produce it. Rising to the demands of the plot, the Reverend Burgess manages the opening of the damning letters with diabolically good timing.

The avarice of the nineteen standard-bearers of respectability is satisfactorily revealed and derided, and the rest of the population is effectively included in the general debacle through its erstwhile pride in its honesty and through the petty envy of such men as the tanner, the saddler, and the hatter whose stock of hats was a little too small to insure him admission into the select.

This section includes the speech of Mr. Wilson, the lawyer, a mixture of logic, oratory, and falsehood, in which Twain parodies lawyers' tactics. The satire of this whole scene, although too rowdy, perhaps, for many people's taste, is very effective. It strikes viciously at

vanity and avarice. In this scene there is no question of what is the reasonable standard necessary to satire. Except for a little preaching in the letters left by the stranger, the criticism of these vices is by other than logical means.

We now come to one of the greatest weaknesses of this story as satire. The Richardses, who are its chief protagonists, are too pathetic to be good objects of satire. They are too weak morally and physically, too old, too helpless, and too pitiful. Twain's choice of these excessively "good" people, whom he has so sentimentally portrayed, must have been part of his plan to convince the reader that everyone is corruptible, the good as well as the bad, but the plan backfires in both a loss of sense of reality and a rather sickening build-up of sympathy. It just does not seem right to crush a worm with a steam-roller.

Determinism in this story does not seem to be a very important factor. Taken in conjunction with Twain's known views, it may seem that the people of Hadleyburg, being people, had no choice but to act as they did, and that the only improvement open to them was through Twain's naive plan of training, that is, getting them so accustomed to resisting temptation that their response to it would be automatic, just as Pavlov's conditioned dog automatically watered at the mouth when the bell rang. But taken strictly on its own merits, the story does not necessarily suggest that these people were without choice. Instead, there are several seemingly satirical references to predestination, and it seems as if Twain is expressing contempt for the flimsy excuse, "It was ordered." In this respect, at least, the story has strength.

But on the whole, "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg," in spite of the admiration it has received from critics, does not stand up as very good satire. Although excellent in structure and on some occasions brilliant in

style, it is twisted out of shape by the moralizing purpose which dominates it.

"To the Person Sitting in Darkness," on the other hand, is one of Twain's most successful satires of any period. In sheer savage invention it is comparable to Dean Swift's "A Modest Proposal." It is so good that the chief difficulty in writing about it is deciding what to quote. The temptation is to quote it all intact.

Beginning with three clippings from Christmas Eve editions of New York newspapers, the article is well laced with headlines and quotations from newspapers of the day, many of which are so damning that they would scarcely be credible if they were merely paraphrased. The article begins innocently enough with a short clipping extolling the optimism which pervades our land and the scant notice that will be given to grumblers. This is followed by a long dismal, clipping on the red light district of New York, punctuated briskly with Twain's italics. The third clipping, also well sprinkled with italics, details the report of a Rev. Mr. Ament, of the American Board of Foreign Missions, who has just returned from China where he was collecting reparations following the Boxer rebellion. With this ammunition, Twain proceeds to demolish not only the presumptions of the missionaries but of our foreign policy and that of half a dozen European countries as well. He lumps the whole thing together under the heading of the export of civilization to the person sitting in darkness, and he damns it all as hypocritical imperialism.

His chief satiric weapon is a very heavy irony which he maintains throughout, even in the title, for the person sitting in darkness is not the savage. It is you and I. Here we see Twain's great fault, the lack of detachment, turned to advantage, for it is his anger which makes the article so effective, his crackling, contemptuous, searing anger.

Although this article is highly topical, dealing with events and policies which we now like to think are safely in the past, it also deals with a fundamental defect in our national consciousness, our feeling of superiority which leads to a sort of pious imperialism. Perhaps this article, more than "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" should be a part of our moral heritage.

Whether or not it is that, it certainly is a part of our moral history. At the time of its publication in *The North American Review* it created quite a storm both of agreement and opposition. The missionary, Mr. Ament, was at first defended by the Board of Missions. Then it was announced that his report was in error. The reparations he had collected, instead of being 13 times what the Chinese insurgents had destroyed, were only 1.3 times that amount. This, of course, provoked a devastating rejoinder from Twain. He was so glad to hear that the robbery was only one tenth as great as first reported. And the mission board was routed from the field in chagrin. Whether this article had any direct effect on our foreign policy or not, it contributed to the sense of shame which was even then rising over our Philippine adventure and which has colored our feeling about that imperialistic era ever since.

These two pieces, "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" and "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," are examples of Twain's best writing in the later period. They show that his satiric powers were not so much diminished as differently directed. In the Hadleyburg story, in particular, it is clear that Twain's increased tendency to moralize was devastating to his satire, and yet, even so, evidence of his old brilliance is sometimes revealed.

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Are Pressure Groups Threatening American Democracy?

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IF ANY of the great corporations of the country were to hire adventurers who make market of themselves in this way to procure the passage of a general law with a view to the promotion of their private interest, the moral sense of every right minded man would instinctively denounce the employer and the employed as steeped in corruption, and the employment as infamous. If the instances were numerous, open and tolerated, they would be regarded as measuring the decay of public morals and the degeneracy of the times. No prophetic spirit would be needed to foretell the consequences near at hand."

This tocsin was sounded by a majority of the Supreme Court of the United States when it refused, in *Trist v. Child* (21 Wallace 441, 1875), to uphold a claim for payment of a lobbyist against the individual who had hired him on the grounds that such practices were contrary to "sound policy and public morals." It is a sample, albeit an extreme one, of an attitude still widely shared by Americans. Just the derogatory connotations of such terms as lobbyist, pressure group, or "the interests" suggest the widespread feeling that pressure group activities threaten the effectiveness and even the existence of our democratic form of government.

It was estimated by the United States Department of Commerce in 1949 that there were four thousand groups organized on a national basis of which nearly all engaged in lobbying activities. Counting local and state groups,

the sum of interest groups is many thousands more. We read in every newspaper of the activities of trade associations, labor unions, farm organizations or the Society for the Preservation of Barber Shop Quartet Singing in America. Scholars frequently point out that contemporary politics cannot be understood without examining the activities of pressure groups. In order to highlight their importance in the legislative process the term "third house of the legislature" has been applied to pressure groups and their "legislative representatives," to use a term less derogatory than "lobbyist." These groups are also important in the executive arm of the government and even affect the judiciary in some ways. David B. Truman of Columbia University in particular has marshalled awesome evidence of their importance in *The Governmental Powers*. It is incontestable that the instances of these condemned practices are indeed "numerous, open and tolerated"; the question is whether this is evidence of a "decay of public morals" or whether it might be one of the strengths of our system and essential to its healthy operation.

Our literature is full of warnings that the influence of organized interest groups is a dangerous situation: "Group organization is one of the perils of the times." "There is no escape from the pressure of organized power." The pitiful plight of American government is that "There is nothing it can do to protect itself from pressures" and that unless these groups "face the kind of world we are living in" it will only be a matter of time "until somebody comes riding in on a white horse." There was a time, not long distant, when it was virtually Holy Writ among academic political scientists that American government required a more responsible party system to resist the evils of pressure groups.

This, however, does not state the entire case. Americans

do not consistently oppose all pressure groups. We approve actions by one group which we condemn in others. Thus a person may simultaneously demand more freedom for business organizations and the abolition of labor unions. Another might demand autonomy for teachers and deny it to all other organizations. This ambiguity is indicated by the behavior that is almost mandatory in organizations, to decry the evil influences of "pressure groups" and then firmly resolve to organize more cohesively in applying pressure.

This ambiguity suggests that along with its supposed evils, there might be some important advantages in group organization which should be preserved and even extended. To abolish them, if possible, might be to throw the baby out with the bath. Some acute observers have found positive advantages in groups organized to affect government. As long ago as the 1830's, Alexis de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America* lauded the variety and power of organizations in the United States:

In no country in the world has the principal of association been more successfully used, or more unsparingly applied to a multitude of different objects, than in America. Besides the permanent associations which are established by law under the names of townships, cities, and counties, a vast number of others are formed and maintained by the agency of private individuals.

He later stated that

Americans of all ages, all conditions and all dispositions, constantly form associations. They have not only commercial and manufacturing companies, in which all take part, but associations of a thousand other kinds—religious, moral, serious, futile, extensive or restricted, enormous or diminutive . . .

De Tocqueville found in the variety and vigor of private associations, and in their "amalgamation with the customs and manners of the people," that check upon the tyranny of majorities which he believed democracy to threaten. "There are no countries in which associations are more needed, to prevent the despotism of faction or the arbitrary

trary power of a prince, than those which are democratically constituted. . . . I am therefore led to conclude that the right of association is almost as inalienable as the right of personal liberty."

Group organization has been praised by other students of modern democracy as well. A. D. Lindsay said, for instance, that "a free democratic society demands the existence of free voluntary associations." Charles E. Merriam in examining both *Public and Private Government* agrees:

In a government of the many . . . these associations are the bases of liberty, order, justice, democratic habit and practice, bulwarks of the republic. Out of the energies, the enterprise, the rivalries, the adjustments to these associations arises what we call public opinion, the final stabilizer and judge of liberty, justice, order.

Bertrand Russell not only found organization around interests essential to a democracy in his study of *Power*, but added that they should have influence upon legislation.

Democracy, if it is to exist psychologically as well as politically, demands organization of the various interests and their representation in political bargaining by the men who enjoy whatever influence is justified by the numbers and enthusiasm of their constituents. I do not mean that these representatives should be a substitute for parliament, but that they should be the channel by which parliament is made aware of the wishes of various groups of citizens.

Let us examine some of the advantages of group organization more specifically. Participation in organized groups is essential to individual freedom in modern society. Diversity in mind cannot exist apart from diversity in action, and action in modern society is effective only through organization. Many forms of freedom which we generally ascribe to individuals are in fact freedoms of group action. Religious freedom, for example, connotes not only the right of individuals to believe as they wish but, what is more important, the rights of groups to join in common activities, among which worship is but one. Every form of freedom, economic, cultural, religious or otherwise, de-

depends upon the power of a group to demand its freedom and not merely request it from an infinitely superior power. Experience with totalitarianism, Fascist or Communist, has demonstrated that the right to vote without the right to organize for the purposes of developing programs, organizing and paying for campaigns, and presenting candidates—a party system—is a meaningless formality. Diversity in belief and interest, then, must be reflected in diversity of centers of power and of groups having claims upon the loyalties of men.

As the interest group gains power it becomes increasingly valuable to the individual as his means of expressing himself in the large society. As primary relationships in family and locality decline in importance, the individual must rely more for his sense of belonging and participating upon interest groups. This again contributes to the power of the organization, both over the individual and toward other groups. Each of these groups is a concentration of power that is autonomous to some degree. As such, they are the main channels through which individuals share in a common life and gain their common interests. This blessing, however, is not unmixed. As organization grows, individual participation becomes more difficult.

The power of a group, and thereby its effectiveness in gaining its ends, depends upon its ability to cause its members to act as one. In order that the organization may gain power, however, the individual must meet its demands. Thus, as the effectiveness of the group in protecting individual interests grows, and thereby its importance to individuals, its customs, rules, and codes become more authoritative. They thus come to constitute governments within a government, frequently using sanctions more painful than the legal punishments of the state. In return for conformity the individual receives group defense and support in his relationships with the rest of

society. As the family meditates between the infant and the neighborhood, so the pressure group mediates between the individual and the state.

The existence of strong voluntary organizations in the society must lead to the influence of pressure groups in the operations of government. The two are but sides of the same coin. Besides being governments themselves, such groups have political power, and when they find their interests facilitated or blocked by the actions of government they will attempt to sway state action in behalf of their interests on their conception of the public interest. They will have the resources and the personnel to carry their case to the seats of the mighty, and they have the further power of being representatives and frequently shapers of public opinion. These facts assure that, in James Madison's phrase, "The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of the government." This is likely to be true whatever attempts are made to restrict these groups by moral suasion. The grosser manifestations of lobbying—bribery and exclusive influence—can be and usually are controlled. This, however, has not limited them, for their power does not rest exclusively or predominantly upon illegal means. So long as they exist, they will be able to wield influence to the extent that the size and enthusiasm of the group indicates that it represents some portion of public opinion. The power of pressure groups lies ultimately in their believed ability to represent or to affect blocks of votes.

Doing away with power based upon bribery and corruption is a matter of enforcing existing laws. Controlling that influence which is based upon the presumed representativeness of groups is far more difficult. We *want* our government officials to be swayed by public opinion, and it is

difficult, if not impossible, for a legislator not to rely on group representatives as spokesmen of the people's will. The voice of the people is silent without a "mouthpiece." Exclusion of pressure groups from politics would require, therefore, an extensive overhauling of our political system. First of all, that part of the first amendment which guarantees "the right peaceably to assemble and petition the Congress for redress of grievances" would have to be repealed or substantially altered. Far more important, it would require the strengthening of some central organizing body, the presidency or the parties, to ensure the loyalty of the individual representative to a national political program. Urging a representative to consider only the national interest can have little effect when he must depend exclusively on "the folks back home" for reelection. The representative who will not listen to group representatives will usually be replaced by one who will.

Although it has been demonstrated that pressure groups exist in all forms of government, our form is particularly sensitive to the action of pressure groups. Our system of government is not one of precise lines of authority and responsibility. Only a few of the arms of the government are subordinated to a single center of power which in turn is responsible to the will of the majority as expressed in elections. Even a very large majority cannot bend the entire government to its will except over a long period of time; witness the conflicts between the Supreme Court and the New Deal.

We have, as David Truman explains, a system of a large number of relatively "coordinate points of access." The decisions of any group, even a clear majority, can be checked at many points in the system. These coordinate points give to interest groups bases of power which if effectively used can stall a decision far beyond the time a widespread public enthusiasm can be preserved. Federal-

ism, the separation of powers, and the system of checks and balances all operate to diffuse and complicate authority and thereby increase the influence of any small and active group which can sustain an interest over a long period of time and through the maze of coordinate powers. The party system which has evolved through the process of meeting the demand for "a government which governs" cannot without alteration overcome these powers because it depends to a large extent directly upon them. In effect our government conforms more to Calhoun's theory of "concurrent majorities" than any other ideal of government. This point has been abundantly supported and the condition soundly condemned in the American Academy of Political and Social Science study, *Toward a More Responsible Party System*. In placing checks upon majorities, the founding fathers created areas within which organized minorities could exert their powers. The fathers felt that unused powers would revert to the States or to individuals. Modern social structure, however, seems to require that the residual powers shall fall to powerful national interest groups which the founding fathers could not imagine.

What I propose is an examination of some of the supposed dangers of pressure groups in order to determine whether, in an effort to reform our system, we might throw out the baby with the bath. I do not believe that our system is perfect, but I do believe that our ambiguous attitudes toward pressure groups may lead us unknowingly to suppress or ignore some important values and institutions of our system. I wish to assert in answer to the original question that pressure groups in general do *not* threaten democracy. Confusion, ignorance and fear regarding them do, however, pose a potential threat to some important democratic values. Some pressure groups are indeed dangerous, just as some individuals are. This

should not lead us, however, to wholesale panaceas but to careful study of their advantages and disadvantages and of the factors in the system which act to protect us from their evils.

Let us attack this problem by examining a few of the purported dangers of interest group organization. The most common charge is that since such organization is for the purpose of expressing private interests rather than the common interests, it is necessarily divisive and opposed to the national unity necessary for democracy. It is claimed that loyalty to non-national groups interferes with loyalty to the nation, but we are not generally made aware of the fact that a degree of conflict within a society can have a *unifying* effect. *Conflict* by George Simmel and an elaboration of his ideas, *The Functions of Social Conflict* by Lewis Coser, defend this frequently overlooked aspect of social organization. The results of recent research into *The Loyal and the Disloyal* by Morton Groz-dins directly contradict the assertion that group organization and conflict is exclusively divisive in its effect. Nonnational groups, Grozdins argues, play a crucial role in cementing the loyalties of the individual to the nation. For one thing, it is through smaller organizations that individuals are brought to participate in civic affairs and national concerns. Social action does not take place as a result of press releases or the appeals of mass media but because of the support and encouragement given the individual by his face-to-face associations. Every politician and fund-raiser knows that action is most successful when face-to-face contacts supplement the appeals of the mass media. Doorbell-ringing is necessary for the success of such campaigns, and success is even more likely if advantage can be taken of the support of established groups. What makes the soldier fight, as Samuel Stauffer discovered, is not his regard for any vague national symbols but

his obligations to his buddies in the outfit, which operate even when he has little conception of national aims. Effective group action, rather than dividing groups, welds them more closely to the nation. The fact that the individual gains benefits from his interest-organization makes him willing not only to defend the group but also to defend the larger unit within which the group can gain these benefits. Destroy the power of the groups, and a major support for national loyalty is destroyed. There are instances when group ties have conflicted with national ties and have led to group alienation, but these are exceptions which have been largely the result of group isolation. The remedy for this is not restrictions upon group participation and power but encouragement of greater group participation.

Critics of group organization tend to over-emphasize the monolithic structure of groups. They tend to see the individual bound to only one group and each group made up of an entirely different set of individuals. This is another notion directly contrary to the mass of facts. Few of us owe allegiance to only one group. We act in relation with many groups, and the membership of any one overlaps to a great extent with others. An individual can be a father, a Republican, a Mason, a labor union member, and a quartet singer and be obliged to bring the roles together. David Truman points out that because of this overlapping membership the organizations themselves are frequently restrained from demands that would destroy the other organizations in which their constituents are involved. The strivings of individuals trying to reconcile group allegiances tends to dampen the extreme demands of any one group. This rule is not universal—there is little overlapping of the membership of the National Association of Manufacturers and the American Federation of Labor, for example—but the remedy lies in more organization rather than less.

The very important effects of these overlapping memberships constitute the major grounds for my opposition to the notion of the direct representation of interests. The idea of granting legislative authority to representatives of functional groups has been proposed by proponents of this view, and in a few countries, tried. It is my view, however, that if the problem of the weighting of the votes could be solved, which is doubtful, the fact of legal representation itself would lead to a weakening of the unifying effects of overlapping membership. It is largely the drive for self-preservation that leads group leadership to attend to the needs of its members. If their positions were legally secure, they would no longer have to compete for the support which gives them their power. To assure group representatives a voice would have the effect of petrifying the existing group structure, hindering the process of group growth and decay, and blocking the operation of many dynamic factors in group organization.

Pressure groups are not a handicap to a unity seen as the coordination of diverse and frequently conflicting interests. With that form of unity which is seen as the *identity* of interests, interest group organization does interfere, but I submit such unity has no place in a democracy. This is the stuff of which totalitarianism is made. The unity on which a free society is based must be the product of constant tension and balance of forces. Its unity is based on the temporary and shifting results of voluntary, piecemeal resolution of conflicts, rather than any overriding identity of belief. There is no reason to fear real difference of opinion and real group conflict as long as we maintain the processes of discussion and compromise. Conflict must exist and indeed be honored if we are to remain free. Tolerance for diversity is to be measured by the means for the resolution for conflict, not by the degree of superficial "community" or "agreement on fundamentals." Once a

democracy decides upon a dogma in which all must believe, then freedom is dead. This is true even if the dogma is that of democracy itself.

Another criticism levelled at the influence of interest groups is that it allows for multirepresentation. The principle of "one man, one vote" is violated because the individual who is active in several groups has in fact several votes. This, it is said, is undemocratic. In some definitions of democracy this assertion may be valid, but I submit that multirepresentation of some kind is the only way in which modern democracy can adjust to the great differences in competence and interest that exist among its citizens. First, it must be recognized that because of the complexities of modern government, those who are active and informed of the issues at any one time are likely to be a minority. Democracy does not necessarily require public participation where there is no public competence or interest. To reduce the unequal effect of superior interest and information we must equalize these factors among the population. Greater total participation will be gained by improved education rather than through altered political structure. The real question is to choose, as the means of participation, between a strengthened party structure and improved channels for interest-representation. If there are to be inequalities of representation it is better that they be based upon activity and information of the represented than to have a system in which particular groups are consistently under- or over-represented.

I submit that the greatest potential for direct popular participation in government is through pressure group activity. For one thing, participation in the autonomous powers of the group has many values. It can provide that training in the government of subordinate groups which many have seen as the necessary training ground for democratic government. Even the simplest organiza-

tion provides training in such skills and attitudes necessary to democracy as self-reliance, tolerance, and willingness to compromise. Interest groups, moreover, provide means for the social organization of functions which for reasons of principle or of efficiency should not be in the realm of the state. The medical profession, obviously, requires some regulation. Health is too important and too technical a function to be left entirely to individual initiative. Government, on the other hand, is not well suited to the regulation of such a technical function. The result is that the professional organization provides much of the needed control, and in so doing wields some of the police powers of the state. Simply on the grounds of administrative efficiency, specialized functional organization is sometimes preferable to the geographical organization which must largely be relied upon by the state.

As a form of representation in government there are some advantages to pressure group participation as opposed to voting for a party program. Undoubtedly, stronger party organization would make the choice between parties much more meaningful. A vote for a coherent organized party, however, would be little more than ratification of a total program, many elements of which an individual voter can not condone. On specific issues and between elections the voter would have little choice because of the party commitment to its program. Pressure group activity is the main way in which the citizen may have an effective say on specific issues. Government is now so complicated that it is doubtful that the individual can become well informed on all issues, but he can do so with regard to some. We can hope that with more abundant leisure he may become better informed on more issues than he now is. Pressure group activity enables him to express these interests more directly and feel a degree of personal responsibility for the results of

these decisions. The individual is faced with a greater range of choice and receives expert aid in arriving at judgments and in following the process of decision regarding particular measures. While we are not at present using the tool of interest group activity to best advantage, I believe that its *possibilities* are less limited than those of individual participation through more unified party systems. Choice in the latter, I believe, would be largely limited to the selection of one's governors.

I believe that we should not yet give up the hope that there can be, in modern democracy, a considerable degree of participation in decisions upon issues. Let us hope that we have not yet condemned the citizen to the mere selection of his rulers and the ratification of their decisions.

A further point has been opened by Robert A. Dahl regarding the intensity of interests. Absolute majority rule does not take account of the varying intensity of interests among individuals. Political stability, and possibly justice, requires that a mild interest of a majority should not always overrule an intense conviction of a minority. While minority action has at times blocked worthwhile government action, there are also many examples of desirable actions resulting largely from minority efforts.

If one accepts the idea that interest groups are a normal and important part of the American political system, what should be done to improve their operation? I do not suggest that our present political scheme is perfect. Far from it. I do suggest some directions for improvement that misguided fears of pressure groups might lead us to overlook. What I propose is not a great change in our political system but a new outlook and attitude concerned with making the system work better. We are far from exhausting the possibilities of what we now have. First of all, we must accept the interest group as a legitimate part of democratic government. The citizen should assume that

responsible participation in interest group activities is as important a part of the obligation of citizenship as is voting or obeying the law. Such duties should be accepted and honored and not shunned as "dirty politics." The individual should choose among the variety of groups and work actively for the expression of his views. Such choices are probably the most important of his political acts. Groups degenerate largely because of the willingness of their members to "let George do it." The power of entrenched minorities decreases directly as active participation rises among the members. One place where this change in attitude might begin is in instruction in government on the high school level. I know of only one high school textbook in government that gives a prominent place to interest groups; most textbooks mention them only in derogatory terms if they mention them at all. This emphasis in schooling would be strengthened if teachers themselves would take a healthier attitude toward group organization.

There are some areas of governmental reform that need to be explored. The principles to be followed are: 1) shaping administrative machinery to take maximum advantage of functional structures, 2) achieving relative balance among groups and interests, and 3) advancing the operation of overlapping membership and potential interests through greater democracy within groups.

On the administrative side, our government must create new political structures which shall maximize the possibilities of functional organization. Our system of decentralization in which powers are divided largely between national and state governments must be altered in order that new forms may take on new powers. The creation of regional authorities with specific functions such as the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Port of New York Authority are promising improvements. The expansion of

municipal home rule is another movement through which the structure of government is changing, however slowly, to meet new needs. The independent regulatory commission, even with all its faults, has a tendency to encourage group self-government and responsibility. In this case it needs to be remembered that producer groups are not the only groups interested in the operation of an industry, but they are more likely to be well organized. The interests of consumers also need representation but tend to lack organization.

One major handicap to the optimum operation of our system is the existence of many unrepresented or poorly represented groups, and one concern of government is to provide these groups with the instruments of self-expression as well as to protect them through direct action. One example of government encouragement of self-organization is labor policy under the New Deal. Rather than regulate wages, hours, and working conditions only by direct government action, the Wagner Act encouraged the formation of labor unions so that individuals could gain the means for direct participation in these decisions through collective bargaining. We should be studying ways of aiding the organization of the still large numbers of laborers who are not organized.

The disfranchisement of Negroes in the South deprives them of the most effective instrument for demanding, on their own, the preservation of their rights. There is little chance that they will win local concern for their problems until they can demand attention with their votes. Action by the federal government to ensure the rights of all men to vote is long overdue. Such action is the main way in which local accommodations of intergroup tension might be encouraged and extensive federal action avoided. There seems to be no other way to ease the strains of the many difficult problems of the present era of race relations. The

recent suggestion of Senator Estes Kefauver that a Department of Consumers be created might be a way in which government could encourage organization of this neglected interest. John Galbreath's concept of "countervailing power" suggests ways in which weak economic groups might be strengthened.

Absolute democracy within groups is not a doctrinaire demand of this point of view. It is ultimately desirable, but it must be measured along with other factors of the system. Broad participation in group action is necessary for the operation of such stabilizing factors as overlapping membership. On the other hand, excessive democracy in one organization may so weaken it in relation to other competing organizations as to leave the group powerless and, as a result, unrepresented. This is an important problem in current demands upon labor organization. The degree of democracy desirable in labor organization cannot be dissociated from the degree of democracy in corporation management.

The many acknowledged flaws in the process of functional representation are not permanent as long as we recognize the values of interest-organization and are willing to study and experiment in ways of improving its operation. Such groups have power because they perform functions which are essential in modern life. They will develop responsibility as we recognize their importance, join them, and participate actively and responsibly in them.

Instead of threatening democracy, pressure groups are, I believe, elements of modern democracy which promise much in dealing with the problems of modern industrial society while preserving the values of a wide distribution of power. It remains to be seen if their potential for good can be made manifest.

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The Anatomy of Recent Fiction Reviewing

JAMES WOODRESS

WHAT really has happened to book reviewing in the last generation? Is it actually in a state of decline, as many people think, or is it thriving, as very few people think? Opinions on this lively topic are plentiful but notably innocent of objective analysis. I think it is possible to obtain firmer answers to the above queries than anyone has yet found. I propose to do it by examining specifically the reviewing of fiction.

In the winter of 1956-57 *The American Scholar* published an article called "The Decline of Book Reviewing." The author, Geoffrey Wagner, argued that the popular media will not let a reviewer be candid; hence he cannot review books and write criticism at the same time. He dismissed the Saturday Reviewers as the "gee-whiz boys of modern fiction . . . who imagine America so culturally backward that the production of a book, *any* book is a triumph of pioneering ingenuity to be greeted with glee."

This broadside evoked lively rejoinders from several of the reviewers attacked, all of whom contended that reviewing is better than it used to be. They defended their integrity and denied editorial pressure. James Kelly maintained that reviewers also can be critics, and besides, the pittance they receive really makes this activity a self-indulgence. Francis Rosenberger contended that any reviewer could keep his batting average high with posterity by damning every novel. The result of this debate seemed to me a standoff.

About the same time John Aldridge in his book, *In*

Search of Heresy, charged that reviewers "tend to treat the good and the bad with indiscriminate seriousness" because "they must work to keep the [publishing] industry going." If this opinion is true, then reviewers are no better than hucksters, and the publishers' trade list is as reliable a place to read about books as *The New York Times*.

This point of view has been widely held. Ten years before Aldridge and Wagner wrote, Reed Whittemore, Howard Nemerov, and the angry young men who published *Furioso* had blasted reviewing. *Furioso* declared in 1946: "It is difficult to see the regular reviewer as other than a slave to editorial policy." He is like a teacher grading on a curve: "The majority of students must pass although not five percent have mastered the subject."

Even as recently as October, 1959, these same charges were raised again in *Harper's Magazine*. Elizabeth Hardwick in another article called "The Decline of Book Reviewing" summed up the low state of reviewing with this comment: "A book is born into a puddle of treacle; the brine of hostile criticism is only a memory." Yet the dominant tone of American book reviews a generation ago also was uncritical approval, just as it is today. If poor reviewing is equated with too much praise, then reviewing always has been in a state of decline.

And so the argument goes, fed, it seems, by guesses and hunches. One would hardly care to quarrel with Bernard DeVoto, who complained once in his "Easy Chair" that half the reviews regularly published in the United States are scandalously bad—but what about the other half?

To get at this problem, I first examined the current state of fiction. One might expect that if fiction reviewing is feeble, the condition of fiction itself also might be moribund. Many critics apparently agree with this supposition. For years they have been observing the decline of

the novel and periodically announcing its imminent death. But the novel has not died. I am inclined to agree with Delmore Schwartz, who predicted optimistically last spring a long and lusty life for the novel, or with Frederick Hoffman, who noted recently that the novel is about as healthy as it can be.

It is impossible, I find, to detect statistically any drying up of the novel form, though whether today's novels are better than yesterday's is debatable. In 1925 (a great year for the novel) American publishers brought out 898 new fiction titles, which represented thirteen percent of their yearly output. In 1955 American publishers issued 1459 new fiction titles, which represented fourteen percent of their yearly production. These ratios have remained fairly constant since World War I.

Because the novel thrives despite the widespread notion that fiction reviewing is shockingly inept, we seem to be confronted with a paradox. Thus a look at the record should be instructive. We need to know if fiction now receives adequate review space from serious and able reviewers. We ought to ask a few questions: Are novels today reviewed more as news and less as art than they once were? (My assumption is that good reviewers concern themselves primarily with the novel as a novel, not as a political or social document.) Next we need to know how much space fiction reviewing now commands compared with the Twenties. And who are the reviewers today and a generation ago? Are they more or less competent, more or less perceptive? Finally, do more or fewer journals now review fiction than formerly?

To get answers to these queries, I have taken soundings at carefully selected places. I realize, of course, that a few swallows do not make a summer, but I have selected three pairs of novels for study. One novel in each pair was written in the Twenties and one in the decade between 1948

and 1957. Each pair of novels has obvious similarities in subject, structure, technique, theme, locale, and so forth. Not all are comparable in every way, but there are points of contact in each instance. Also there are points of comparison between the authors of each pair—similarities in age, experience, competence, and reputation. A careful study of the reception of the three early novels yields, when compared with the three recent novels, a usable conclusion about the present state of fiction reviewing.

Two of the novels are war novels, each published three years after its respective war. Both are realistic; both are by previously unknown writers. These are *Three Soldiers* by John Dos Passos and *The Naked and the Dead* by Norman Mailer. The second two are first novels by talented Southerners. These works render experience rather than describe it and employ techniques much admired in recent decades. These are William Faulkner's *Soldier's Pay* and William Styron's *Lie Down in Darkness*. The third pair are novels by well established writers—a seventh novel and an eleventh novel. Neither author is quite in the class of Hemingway and Faulkner, though some readers then and now would contest this judgment. These novels are Sinclair Lewis' *Arrowsmith* and James Gould Cozzens' *By Love Possessed*.

I have based my survey on two dozen periodicals of national circulation and *The New York Times* and the *Herald Tribune*. Some of the journals used have published continuously since 1920, so that they are included in the estimate of the early as well as the late novels. Among the weeklies in this category are the *New York Times* book supplement, *The Nation*, and *The New Republic*; among the monthlies are *The Atlantic*, *Harpers* and *The Catholic World*; among the quarterlies are the *Yale* and *Sewanee* reviews.

No significant change has taken place in the number of available places for the reviewing of fiction. There were about two dozen main sources in 1921, and there still are about the same number. *The Bookman*, *The Outlook*, *The Independent*, *The Dial*, *Century*, *Scribners*, and *The Literary Digest* no longer exist, but in their place we now have *The New Yorker*, *Saturday Review*, and *Commonweal* (all begun in the mid-Twenties), *Time*, *Newsweek*, *The Reporter*, and a large group of quarterlies which review some fiction: the *Partisan*, *Kenyon*, *Hudson*, and *Antioch* reviews, *The Virginia Quarterly Review* (which also began in the Twenties), *The New Mexico Quarterly*, and *The American Scholar*.

Consider now the reception of Dos Passos' *Three Soldiers*. One might expect that between 1918 and 1921 enough time had elapsed to make possible sober evaluation of World War I experience. Such was not the case. The dominant impression one gets of the novel's reception is a strident outburst of protest. This book, wrote many of the reviewers, libels the A. E. F. Dos Passos obviously was a misfit who could not endure military discipline. Hoxie Fairchild in *The Independent* called the novel sordid, narrow-minded realism, the cry of Greenwich Village, not of young America.

The most outrageous treatment of the book appeared in *The New York Times*, which tried not once but twice to demolish it. The first review was captioned "Insulting the Army," and for twenty-six hundred words one Coningsby Dawson cudgelled the author. The first sentence read: "This is the kind of book anyone would have been arrested for writing while the war was yet in progress." Two weeks later the *Times* again blistered Dos Passos in a long front-page article. This was a personal assault as well as an attack on the novel.

After the weekly media had branded Dos Passos a liar

and a coward, the novel became news, and subsequent reviewers used much space attacking or defending the novel on grounds irrelevant to any consideration of it as art. They debated whether or not Dos Passos had told the truth. Heywood Broun in *The Bookman*, Francis Hackett in *The New Republic*, and Sidney Howard in *Survey* upheld the authenticity of the book. *The Dial's* reviewer noted that the experiences of Fuselli, Crisfield, and Andrews had been no secret during the war except in the newspapers.

One looks hard to find *Three Soldiers* treated as literature. Wilbur Cross did in *The Yale Review*, but he might better have said nothing, for he dismissed the book with this observation: "There is really no story, and without a story, there can be no novel." Henry Canby and Hamilton Gibbs alone made a serious effort to evaluate Dos Passos by artistic criteria. Canby in *The Literary Review* thought the novel to be the first American book on the recent war worth treating as literature. Gibbs in *The Freeman* was one of only two reviewers who seemed to have read Dos Passos' first book, *One Man's Initiation*, and discussed the novel's technique and the development of the author.

Norman Mailer's novel, published three years after World War II, received a very different treatment. Completely absent were charges of libel or scurrilous personal attacks. Certainly the brutalizing effects of war and army experience are as vividly done in *The Naked and the Dead* as in *Three Soldiers*; yet no one objected even to Mailer's General Cummings, the protofascist. Forty years ago reviewers would have regarded Cummings as a libel on the Marshalls, Eisenhowers, and Bradleys.

The Naked and the Dead received ample review space (about the same amount as *Three Soldiers*) and was discussed generally as a contribution to war fiction. It is true that the novel had news value and that reviewers assessed it

in terms of its fidelity to the war experience they had known. Such was the main focus, for example, of Ira Wolfert's review in *The Nation*. But even so, Wolfert also discussed structure and characterization.

Maxwell Geismar in *The Saturday Review*, Charles Rolo in both *The Atlantic* and the short-lived *Tomorrow*, Orville Prescott in *The Yale Review*, Richard Match in the *Herald Tribune*, David Dempsey in the *Times*, John Lardner in *The New Yorker*, all praised the book, tried to fit the work into the genre of war fiction, and discussed the book as a novel. There were comparisons in technique with Dos Passos, in length and complexity with *War and Peace*, in style with *A Farewell to Arms* and *The Enormous Room*. Even *Time* and *Newsweek* struck the same general note of appraisal in their reviews which came out during the week of publication.

While none of the notices of Mailer is profound, the conclusions are inescapable: the reviewers spent a fair amount of space discussing plot, character, structure, style, and theme. In general, the consensus may have been too favorable, but the reviewers treated the novel seriously and almost no one failed to discover some artistic flaws. The only superficial review I noted was John Farrelly's in *The New Republic*, which dismissed the book as boring.

The quarterly reviews gave only modest attention to *The Naked and the Dead*, but Dos Passos had attracted no attention at all in the quarterlies, except for Wilbur Cross' brief, slighting comment. This time Orville Prescott reviewed the novel adequately for *The Yale Review*, and *The Virginia Quarterly Review* noticed it briefly but favorably. Also Louis Filler in *The Antioch Review* defended Mailer from reviewers (not found by me) who had claimed *The Naked and the Dead* was not art, and *The New Mexico Quarterly* considered the novel in a roundup of recent war fiction. The academic consideration of Mailer in 1948 was

more extensive than it was of Dos Passos in 1921, though still not impressive.

Consider next the first novels of Faulkner and Styron. The enormous attention that Faulkner now receives makes a notable contrast with the virtual vacuum into which he dropped *Soldier's Pay*. Faulkner, of course, traveled a long way in the three years between *Soldier's Pay* and *The Sound and the Fury*, but even so one might expect some reviewers to have discerned promise in his first novel. Almost no one did. Several of the most important media, like *The Dial*, *The Bookman*, and *The Nation*, did not review the book at all. Seven reviews were all I could find, and two were very brief. Not one of the monthly magazines or quarterly reviews discovered Faulkner.

Only three reviews of *Soldier's Pay* seem at all adequate. While E. C. Beckwith of the *New York Post's Literary Review* praised the novel for its originality; in the *Herald Tribune*, Larry Barretto, who had written his own novel about a war veteran, thought the book almost a great novel. Most perceptive of all was a short review in *The Literary Digest* by Louis Kronenberger, who was bothered by the novel's technique but accepted Faulkner on his own terms and detected some extraordinarily vivid effects.

Other reviews of *Soldier's Pay* may be dismissed quickly. The notice in *The Saturday Review* was superficial and unsympathetic. *The New York Times'* unsigned review must have been written by an amateur, who praised *Soldier's Pay* for the wrong reasons and thought it every bit as good as *What Price Glory?* *The New Republic* gave Faulkner two perfunctory paragraphs and *The Independent* a scant half-column.

William Styron's *Lie Down in Darkness* received adequate review space in all the weekly book sections and supplements, including *Time* and *Commonweal*. In addition, the novel was thoughtfully discussed in *The Atlantic*, *The*

American Scholar, the *Hopkins* and the *Yale* reviews. Secondly, the quality of the reviews was high. The reviewers included Robert Gorham Davis, Howard Mumford Jones, John Aldridge, Louis Rubin, Harvey Swados, Malcolm Cowley, Maxwell Geismar, and Harvey Breit. If Styron lives up to the promise of his first novel, there will be a dozen critics who can say they saw his star when it first appeared on the horizon.

Almost without exception *Lie Down in Darkness* was discussed as literature. The exceptions were *Time*, which reported sourly that the South had produced another "recruit for the dread-decay-despair camp of U. S. letters," and *The New Yorker*, which dismissed it with a wisecrack in the "Briefly Noted" column.

More typical was Geismar's judgment that Styron had written a "remarkable and fascinating novel . . . one of the few completely human and mature novels published since the Second World War." John Aldridge was struck by Styron's poetic sensibility, and Robert Gorham Davis wrote at length on the novel's moral tensions. All the reviewers commented on Styron's literary debts to Joyce, Faulkner, and Wolfe. The consensus was expressed by Howard Jones, who wrote in the *Herald Tribune*: "When they [the literary debts] are listed, almost everything is said . . . that can be said against the shock of recognition of genuine talent." Or, as Cowley put it, the lessons of the masters had had a liberating effect on Styron.

So much for first novels. The reputation of Sinclair Lewis was at its zenith when *Arrowsmith* appeared in 1925. *Main Street* and *Babbitt* made the new novel inevitably one of the best publicized books of the year. Lewis' news value insured wide reviewing, and almost everyone found space to discuss the book. Even periodicals like *The American Journal of Public Health* reviewed it. *The North American Review*, which then seldom

bothered with novels, included it in a roundup of recent fiction.

The reviews of *Arrowsmith*, of course, contained much discussion of the fictional treatment of medicine. *Survey* and *The Literary Digest* very cleverly sent the novel to doctors for review and subsequently printed muddle-headed attacks on Lewis' so-called maligning of the medical profession. This sort of assault forced the more competent reviewers to divert some of their attention to rebuttal. It also inspired a good many letters to the editor.

The outraged doctors were more than matched by H. L. Mencken in *The American Mercury*. He waded into the doctors—especially defenders of research organizations like Lewis' McGurk Institute. "What ails everyone of these undertakings for the fostering of science," Mencken wrote, "is that whatever its pretensions on the label, it is utilitarian in the bottle—that its primary aim is to back the scientist into a stall and milk him like a cow." Mencken did discuss the structure and technique of the novel, but he particularly enjoyed the chance to mount his soap box. He conceded that Lewis was preaching in *Arrowsmith* but added: "If this be preaching, let us have more of it!"

The dominant impression one gets today is that *Arrowsmith* was reviewed, on the whole, adequately, competently, and literarily. The serious reviewers were a competent group: Helen MacAfee in *The Yale Review*, Robert Morss Lovett in *The Dial*, Joseph Wood Krutch in *The Nation*, Stuart Sherman in the *Herald Tribune*, Henry Canby in *The Saturday Review*, Carl Van Doren in *The Century*, and of course Mencken. All of them discussed the novel as belles-lettres, fitted *Arrowsmith* into the corpus of Lewis' work, and made judgments that still seem pretty fair. Only William Lyon Phelps remained out in left field. He disliked the novel and chided Lewis for his unflattering picture of those hard-working general practitioners, one

of whom, he warned, may be "called out of bed in the middle of the night tomorrow to save *you*."

The serious appraisals of Arrowsmith touched on all aspects of the novel. Sherman tried to convince disparagers that satire can be art. Krutch, on the other hand, was concerned with theme and ranked *Arrowsmith* higher than either *Main Street* or *Babbitt*. Canby was interested in characterization and thought Leora Arrowsmith as memorable as a Jane Austen heroine. Finally, Helen MacAfee's judgment pretty well summed up the prevailing view: Lewis now had set his course and was unlikely to do anything different.

The appearance two years ago of Cozzens' *By Love Possessed*, was one of the wonders of recent publishing history. Everyone surely remembers the vast amount of review space that the novel received. Every review source treated the book promptly and extensively. *Time* elevated Cozzens to its pantheon of heroes by putting him on the cover and devoting thirteen columns to his life and works. John Fischer of *Harpers*, better as a social commentator than as literary critic, nominated Cozzens for the Nobel Prize. Brenden Gill in *The New Yorker* praised the work in terms to make a jacket copy-writer blush.

Cozzens awoke on the morning of September 2, 1957 (the day *Time* appeared), to find himself famous. Because of the ecstatic early reviews and the extraordinarily wide coverage, *By Love Possessed* became news. There can be no doubt that the news value of the book prompted much of the space it subsequently received. Why Cozzens suddenly should have been discovered with his eleventh novel also raised a fascinating, newsworthy question. *By Love Possessed*, however, did not make more news than *Arrowsmith*.

Just as the reviewers of Lewis were concerned with his medical satire, so were the reviewers of Cozzens interested

in peripheral matters: his dramatic emergence from obscurity and the liberal-versus-conservative debate that the novel ignited. But at the same time, both *Arrowsmith* and *By Love Possessed* received extensive treatment as novels in the weekly and monthly review media. Cozzens received more column inches of space, but the difference is quantitative, not qualitative. And not all the reviews of Cozzens were completely glowing. *The Nation* and *New Republic* noted various artistic flaws, *The Saturday Review* had reservations about Cozzens' style, and the *Herald Tribune* praised with some rather left-handed compliments. Typical of the favorable but thoughtful reviews were those like Malcolm Cowley's in *The New York Times*. Cowley claimed to have been a Cozzens admirer for years and discussed *By Love Possessed* intelligently in terms of the author's total accomplishment.

The significant difference between the reception of *Arrowsmith* and *By Love Possessed* appears in the academic journals. In 1925 the *Yale* and *North American* reviews alone reviewed Lewis. In 1957 and 1958 *By Love Possessed* was reviewed in the *Kenyon*, *Yale*, and *Virginia Quarterly* reviews, *The New Mexico Quarterly*, and *The American Scholar*. These critiques ran the gamut from very favorable to very unfavorable. In no sense did the adulation of *Time* and *The New Yorker* set the academicians to sharpening their hatchets. *The New Mexico Quarterly* called the novel "the finest accomplishment to date of a serious artist and virtuoso writer," and *The Kenyon Review* labeled it "a bad book, a labored book—and God knows why—a popular book." All the academic reviewers treated the novel as literature.

At the same time, a political debate was going on. Dwight MacDonald's article in *Commentary*, "By Cozzens Possessed—A Review of the Reviews," opened a large topic—Cozzens' appeal to the conservatism of the Eisen-

hower era. *The New Republic*, for instance, in an article by Irving Howe had a second go at the novel. Howe noted that the book had become a fact in culture, was no longer an independent work of art. He welcomed the controversy and joyfully entered the fight, but even his article in large measure discussed structure and technique. His motivation may have been ideological, but he attacked Cozzens on artistic grounds.

By the end of 1958, there had been at least twenty-seven articles (besides reviews) on Cozzens in academic journals in sixteen months. This I believe is unique in the history of the American novel. One academic journal, *Critique*, even devoted an entire issue to Cozzens. *Arrowsmith*, in contrast, evoked only one scholarly article within eighteen months.

To conclude this analysis of fiction reviewing, let us look again at the questions I raised at the outset. Are novels reviewed today more as news and less as art than formerly? I think not. Novels are sometimes news today, just as they were in 1925, but even a recent work with such compelling news interest as *Dr. Zhivago* received much serious consideration as literature.

Do novels receive as much review space as they once did? They certainly do. In the popular review media the amount of review space available and the number of journals that review novels have not changed much. But there also is much space in the quarterly reviews that did not exist in the Twenties. Today run-of-the-mill fiction, however, has less chance of being reviewed than it once did. Only *The New York Times* now gives adequate coverage to current fiction. In 1925 it reviewed sixty-eight per cent of all new novels issued, and in 1951 it still managed to review or briefly notice sixty-two per cent. *The Saturday Review*, which now has many other things on its mind, dropped from sixty-two per cent to thirty-one per cent in

the same period. The *Herald Tribune* falls between the *Times* and *The Saturday Review*. Other review media always have been much more selective. This raising of the odds on the review of a new novel results, of course, from the increase in fiction titles from under 900 in 1925 to over 1,400 in 1955 and nearly 1,600 last year. The available space for reviewing fiction has increased but not kept pace.

At the same time, I can find no evidence that a distinguished first novel is likely to be ignored by review sources today. The Mailer and Styron novels probably received about the same treatment as the novels of other talented contemporaries such as Saul Bellow or J. D. Salinger. I believe that a first novel by another Faulkner or Hemingway is less likely to be ignored today than was *Soldier's Pay* in 1926. This is true despite the great current interest in non-fiction.

Whether or not current reviewers are more or less competent than their predecessors is a subject harder to generalize on. How does one decide whether Malcolm Cowley, Howard Mumford Jones, and Maxwell Geismar are better or worse than Stuart Sherman, Robert Morss Lovett, and Carl Van Doren? Were Journalist Mencken, Ex-professor Canby, and Academician Krutch more perceptive than Journalist Harvey Breit, Ex-professor Kazin, and Academician Mark Schorer? Was Harry Hansen's column in *Harper's* in 1925 more competent than Paul Pickerel's today? I don't know the answer to this question.

In the plenitude of the academic journals there now are more people writing about fiction than ever before. New little magazines like *Twentieth Century Literature*, *Modern Fiction Studies*, and *Critique* have sprung up to supplement older quarterly reviews. Even *PMLA* today carries a number of articles on Twentieth-century fiction. There is no radar net, however, by which academic journals detect promising new novelists, and apparently the quarterlies

that do review fiction are haphazard in their selection of novels to discuss. Fortunately, the sheer volume of activity within the academies makes inevitable the discovery of new talent.

My final conclusion is that fiction reviewing is in fact better today than it was in the Twenties. Thus the frequent charge that fiction reviewing is in a state of decline must be dismissed as not proved.

and again . . .

THE AUGUST, 1960, issue of *Best Articles & Stories* contains Charles E. Guardia's poem "Points of View" which originally appeared in the spring (April) issue of THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY. His "Vacillation," which we also published in April, is scheduled for a subsequent number of *Best Articles & Stories*.

Manioc, Millet, and the Millions

THEODORE M. SPERRY

LITTLE need be said here about the world's increasing population and the food needed to keep it supplied. Obviously, however, the United States, Canada, and a few other highly productive areas cannot meet these needs except temporarily, and should not for economic and political reasons even if this were possible. Equally obvious, food production and population relocations are impractical in sterile areas resulting from lack of water (deserts), lack of soil (mountains), or low temperatures (permafrost tundra). A substantial part of the agriculturally underdeveloped or poorly developed non-sterile areas presently remaining are located in equatorial or tropical areas, such as Brazil, the Belgian Congo, Central America, and southeastern Asia. It is here we find the best prospects for a substantial increase in food production to balance the increasing populations in these and adjacent areas.

Little is known about pre-historic agriculture except by inference. It is known, however, that all of the basic principles in the husbanding of livestock and the cultivation of crops were originated in prehistoric times, and that a large part of our domesticated animals (cows, horses, sheep, goats, pigs, camels, and dogs) and cultivated crops (wheat, oats, rice, maize, millet, potatoes, and beans) were well developed in antiquity. From what we know of the environment of these organisms, it is evident that most of our agriculture developed in grassland (prairie and steppe) vegetation. Nomadic peoples, apparently, could survive by hunting game and fruits in the forest, or by obtaining fish and shellfish from the seas, but it was mainly grassland which offered an environment which primitive man could

modify sufficiently to develop a stationary agriculture.

There are two ecological conditions which are especially favorable for such agricultural development. The first is a climate in which the precipitation approximately equals the evaporation capacity of the air, or we might say, where the evapo-precipitation ratio (more accurately, the evapo-transpiration-precipitation ratio) is approximately one. An excess of precipitation produces heavy erosion or leaching on hilly land, or swamps on level land. An excess of evaporative water loss results in scrub and desert lands. The second condition is a nearly level or gently rolling topography which permits a deep soil to accumulate. Under these conditions most primitive agriculture apparently developed. So successful was this agriculture in central Iraq that records show average wheat yields in 2400 B. C. of seventy-two bushels per hectare (approximately two and a half acres) as compared with a U. S. average in 1958 of sixty-seven and a half bushels per hectare.

From such primitive agricultures, two important variants were also developed in prehistoric times. One was a desert agriculture on level or leveled lands where ample irrigation waters were available. The other was a swamp (paddy) agriculture for rice and fish where water level control was possible. Both of these are effective only in limited areas, but they both permit very high yields. In both cases, the agriculturalists placed their dwellings on unproductive higher ground and devoted all available tillable ground to crop production. This added a third basic factor to agriculture in addition to the climate and topography already noted. This factor was the development of a social structure within the community on the village level instead of the family unit, in which a village council regulated the agricultural usage of water. To this day, dense populations still exist with these agricultures, using methods as primitive as those first developed. It should be noted that both

of these variants are likewise limited to equatorial or subtropical climates where freezing temperatures do not persist for more than a few days at a time, at most.

Toward the edges of each of the above three forms of agriculture, additional factors develop, such as deficient fertility, leaching, salinization, and frost heaving, which require more careful and technical management of the soil to yield adequate crops, which likewise leads to a more technical (*i. e.*, "advanced") form of civilization. Although irrigation was practiced in prehistoric times in the western hemisphere, apparently independently in several places, it seems that the wetland rice-culture method was never developed here until its introduction in colonial times by Europeans.

Within the areas of evapo-precipitation unity, extensive civilizations (Mayan and Druidian, for example) sometimes developed, although the small family-unit form easily survived by itself, and was perhaps the most common primitive form. Such agriculture usually consisted of the intensive cultivation of small plots for two or three years at a time, after which the family moved to new, perhaps adjacent, plots and allowed the old ones to return, through the weed stage, to the secondary native vegetation. This reduced their weed problem and prevented undue erosion and loss of fertility of the soil. This form of agriculture, still widely practiced in the Congo and other primitive areas today, is suitable in a number of open forest types as well as in grasslands. The revegetation period is usually several times longer than the cropping period, especially in the forest areas. The low level of production associated with these methods usually leaves no economic surplus for conversion to roads, schools, or other developments. Shrub and tree crops (papayas, bananas, etc.) may be combined with this culture, as well as the herding of livestock.

Within historic times, especially more recently, the plan-

tation system has been developed. This is dependent upon industrialization, transportation, and an interregional commercial economy. Such diversified products as cotton, coffee, rubber, and oil, little used in primitive agriculture, now assume a dominant role. More or less essential for this development is large capital, low cost land holdings, and low cost labor—often slave labor. The individual, even in those areas where he is free and reasonably well paid, is usually dominated by the plantation management, and his activity is largely restricted to the crop and its processing mill. It is almost impossible to develop such an economy much beyond a feudalistic level, with rich owners and semi-impooverished laborers. Theoretically, such a centralized system of crop production should yield large economies and substantial profits, but it is also directly subject to the fluctuation of foreign markets, and a shift in industrial processes or an interruption by war elsewhere may mean disaster to the plantation community. The owner rarely distributes his profits to the community, but retains them as a backlog against such contingencies. Where abundant land is available, the laborers are allotted small plots for private subsistence production to tide over poor markets or crop failures, but under intense production, especially in irrigated or paddy areas, even these are wanting.

Quite apart from the socio-economic problems of plantation development are the ecological problems of site selection. Each crop has its own special requirements for optimum production. Thus sugar-cane produces best in a sub-humid, sub-tropical lowland grassland, and rubber in a rolling lowland equatorial forest. These crops will also produce in other environments, especially on virgin soils, but are unstable as a permanent crop. Whether or not a given crop will produce well on any particular site has largely been a matter of trial and error. Selections

may be made on the basis of observations of the crops of single family units who keep moving from plot to plot each few years and who consequently have adequate yields. A plantation may persist permanently in such an area, or may begin deterioration soon after the harvesting of the first few crops.

Since it is uneconomical (or impossible) continually to relocate plantations, the plantation owners with decreasing yields will frequently call on the agricultural experiment stations of the state government for expert advice and aid. The government, recognizing agricultural production to be the basis of its economy in these plantation areas, and often currying the favor of large landowners with heavy capital investments, usually encourages extensive state research to keep the plantations in operation. Unfortunately, such governments have rarely been so conscientious in their determinations of the suitability of the sites for the original investments. They are thus put in the position of supporting, often at considerable expense, some initially false assumptions by individuals.

This condition is intensified when regional or international agreements or pacts are arranged by which an industrial area contracts for a minimum supply from a specified area of many thousands of tons of a given product over a five or ten year period. While such agreements permit extensive capital investments which should yield good returns, they may also completely impoverish a production area that does not have the basic capabilities for sustained yield of the crop specified.

Some difficulties in establishing quotas in tropical areas arise by estimating potential yields based on known yields of various crops on soils in temperate areas. The failure of this practice has led to the wide-spread opinion that tropical soils have a rather low productivity by comparison. This appears especially marked when warm climate

forest crops (palm oil or rubber) are compared with cool climate grassland crops (wheat or maize). A true comparison can only be made on the basis of the biotic reactions to the different climates considered.

Equatorial climates are generally characterized by high rainfall, warm temperature averages, and a consequent high evapo-transpiration rate. The rainfall causes relatively high soil leaching on all except the most level land. The high temperature permits a high humus decomposition (oxidation and microbial destruction) rate. Both of these combine to produce thin soils. On the other hand, both the temperature and transpiration factors produce rapid growth. Under such conditions, tropical forest plants grow densely and rapidly. Where temperatures are cooler (in sub-montane zones), or rainfall diminishes, the forest may be replaced by a dense equatorial savannah on a somewhat deeper soil. In both cases, the climate decomposes the parent crustal material into new soil much more rapidly than in temperate climates.

Although tropical native vegetation and the corresponding tropical crops (*e. g.*, cacao or manioc) with their rapid, dense growth, produce well on these thin tropical soils, the slower-growing, deep-rooted, relatively low and open temperate crops (maize or pasture grasses, for example) soon exhaust these thin soils after the first seasons of heavy yield. Instead of making comparisons with crops which are known to give high yields in temperate regions, the productivity should be based on plants best adapted to each of the sets of ecological conditions involved. Kilos of dry weight per hectare per year would thus seem to be a logical basis for yield comparison, but numerous additional variables of processing costs, market prices, transportation charges, volume contract agreements, and the like, make such figures a poor measure of economic comparison.

In the past, profitable plantation operation in tropical areas has been concomitant with low subsistence levels of the laborers. Contemporary economy in the tropical areas combines a rapidly expanding population with insistent demands for sharply improved living standards among the natives. This makes it imperative that much more efficient use be made of the land. There are technical assistance agencies and trained scientists available to guide such programs of land development, if the political economist can make the use of such help possible. It should be noted that the present yield increases now evident in tropical countries are no more than equaling population increases. This is far short of enough.

The most urgent need is the land classification of the underdeveloped or poorly developed areas, including those developed areas presently requiring extensive experiment station assistance to keep them in operation. This should also include land classification for roads, urban areas, water and recreational resources, gene-pool reserves, and so forth. Two additional needs are the cataloging of the ecological growth limits of profitable yields for each of the various crops and the development of new genetic races of each crop for more efficient yields in additional habitats. The first of these is moderately well completed, but the latter is scarcely well started.

Of particular value in this classification would be the designation of the natural forest areas. Prairie-steppe crops have been so successfully used as food staples that much capital and land resources have been lost attempting to produce these crops on forest soils unsuitable for such crops. At the same time let us carefully note that certain forest soils, (especially those adjacent to grassland regions) are capable of sustained grassland crop yields. Except for such specific areas, forest soils should be limited to forest crops, and any misdirected efforts to the contrary will gen-

erally yield economic and (consequent) social problems which no amount of fertilizer or experiment station methodology can correct.

A good economy need not necessarily depend on a grass-land crop yield. Sweden and Finland are examples of countries with relatively high living standards based almost entirely on a forest economy. The Kivu district in the eastern Congo also supports a heavy population which is relatively prosperous by native standards, developed entirely on forest soil, non-gramineous crops. But in spite of this, as Tom Gill points out in *The Journal of Forestry*, the government multi-million dollar International Cooperation Assistance program lists forestry in a corner of its organization chart "under miscellaneous crops, along with peanuts, prunes and 'Pepsi-cola'." Actually, U. S. Forest Service timber sales equivalents in 1957 totaled 115½ million dollars, in addition to other huge non-cash benefits, and these values are increasing annually.

According to L. R. Holdridge of the Organization of American States (O. A. S.), whose studies of tropical agriculture have contributed extensively to this paper, another need of tropical agriculture is the development of diversification among secondary crops in addition to the principal plantation crops. Most of this should be done on a private enterprise plan to add psychological variety and incentive to break the monotony of plantation life, as well as an insurance against crop or market failures of the plantation crop. This requires that the plantation owner shall make available small plots adjacent to the laborer's dwellings, and sufficient free time for their development. It also requires that such a system be adopted on a scale sufficiently general in a given area to create a produce or sales market for the various diversified crops adopted.

In addition to new genetic varieties and much greater attention to favorable site selection for each of the crops,

yields can also be substantially increased by the development of, and closer attention to, careful culture techniques. Yields can sometimes be nearly doubled on a given site by this factor alone. Greater economies may also be had from mechanization of plantation practices. The greatest gain here should be in paddy agriculture, but all forms should benefit substantially, with the most difficult solutions occurring in stony lands. Unfortunately, such lands are widespread where soils are thin.

Many plantation crops are adaptable to rotation plans. Such plans almost always conserve or increase soil fertility. Most fruit-yield tree plantings (olive, date, and oil palm) are subject to considerable crop reductions when the trees become over-mature. Even high-yielding trees become difficult to manage and harvest when they become too tall or large, and it is usually preferable to remove them and replant. In such cases, quick yielding herbaceous crops can usually be interplanted between the young, slower yielding trees, while shade-tolerant shrubs, such as coffee, may be introduced as the trees increase in size, to add a third profitable crop to the rotation plan. Under other conditions, cacao, ipecac, banana, and manioc serve well as intermediate crops in forest rotation plans.

One of the reasons for the unpopularity of forest crops among the older plantation owners was the slowness of returns from such plantings. Forest rotation plans should be developed on a basis of about thirty year cycles with one-thirtieth of the area being replanted each year to start a new cycle. With the gradual replacement of individual ownership of plantations with corporation ownership (even if individual families incorporate to take advantage of more favorable regulations), the desirability of adopting forest crops in forest sites is greatly increased.

One further development in tropical agriculture which should greatly benefit tropical economy is a greater utiliza-

tion of the harvested products. Just as the mountains of sawdust and trimmings of sawmills which once were burned in this country are now utilized for paper and pressed-wood products, there are likewise large quantities of stems, leaves, brush, and other residues of the formerly single-product plantations which could likewise be salvaged as secondary revenue producers if effort and imagination were combined to discover their value. Not the least of these possibilities is their microbial conversion into livestock feed, which shows promise of more efficient yields than the low yields obtained in present tropical grazing areas.

These considerations emphasize the necessity of careful agricultural planning to balance the increase in population. The trial-and-error practices of the past which have served smaller populations with lower living standards will not meet the needs of today's larger populations and higher living standards. Efficient crop production needs to be developed on regional instead of local levels, with site capabilities given more emphasis than local crop demands or immediate cash returns.

There must be coordinated planning between the agricultural economist, the industrial economist, the social welfare economist, and the financial economist to prevent hasty commercial developments designed for quick monetary returns from resulting in resource depletions which will leave regional populations impoverished in the future.

Legislators, in particular, have the responsibility of providing for the acquisition of such technical data as can be used in future planning, and of providing for planning commissions to advise on the development of non-stabilized areas. Basic to such planning, especially in the potentially productive equatorial areas, is the inclusion of the agricultural ecologist to determine the optimum crop developments for the populations concerned.

looking forward . . .

IT WAS SOMETIME in June, shortly after galley-proof for the July issue had been returned to the printer, that THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY really arrived. Not in a physical sense exactly, but in a period of one week the editors received five unsolicited manuscripts. These came from as far east as North Carolina and western New York, as far north as Kalamazoo, Michigan, and as far west as the San Fernando Valley in California. One was a short story addressed to the "Fiction Editor," and was promptly returned to its author for the obvious reason that to date we do not contemplate including fiction among our offerings. Of the other four manuscripts, two appear in this issue: Professor Vander Zanden's "Sit-ins in Dixie" and Professor Woodress' analysis of recent fiction reviewing. Indications are that the other two will probably appear in subsequent numbers of this publication.

During the course of the summer, some half-dozen other unsolicited contributions were submitted to the editors for consideration. As the editors see it, this means that THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY has become relatively well-established as a vehicle for discussions of a variety of subjects. Certainly this is an extremely heartening development.

There are other signs of arrival. During the summer orders have come in fairly steadily for subscription renewals. These indicate that our public is relatively aware of the existence of our publication. This may be as good a place as any to point out that this issue is Number 1 of Volume II, a fact which means that many of our subscribers will need to renew their financial affiliation within the early future.

At the same time our service area expands steadily, not only within the continental limits of the United States but also in more distant realms beyond the seas. The latest order received, for example, is from the National Library Service of New Zealand, a logical development, we think, from our recently negotiated exchange agreement with Barr Smith Library of The University, Adelaide, South Australia.

With cautious confidence the editors face the future. Subsequent issues will contain more various offerings than we have been able to provide in the past as more and more men and women with something to say discover this medium of expression. Two historical

events scheduled to begin almost immediately promise to serve as sources of material: the twin centennials of Kansas statehood (the Sunflower State became a political fact of American life on January 29, 1861) and of the American Civil War which began with the firing of Confederate guns at Charleston, South Carolina, early in the morning of April 12, 1861. In each of these state and national occasions for celebration, there are many aspects deserving consideration. Kansas life is composed of far more than political activity; the artistic and literary sides of the history of the state require intelligent examination. There is a great deal more in the American Civil War than battles and leaders, as anyone who has perused the pages of *Civil War History*, published quarterly by the State University of Iowa at Iowa City, is immediately aware.

Unsolicited manuscripts submitted during the summer months range far afield in their choice of subject matter, a fact which augers well for a continuation and extension of the variety of our contents. Let it be known, as we have said repeatedly before, that the best way for a contributor to attract our attention is to send us his manuscript. Ideally, manuscripts should not exceed five thousand words in length, and to win the acceptance of the editors they should treat subjects of contemporary significance in readable form. And, of course, we shall continue to consider verse offerings; in the editorial view, it would be entirely appropriate for every issue of this publication to contain a number of poetic contributions.

An encouraging sign which may have been overlooked by many of our readers is the fact that beginning with our July issue, the contents of THE MIDWEST QUARTERLY are protected by copyright.

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